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A MODERN CITY

WILLIAM KIRK

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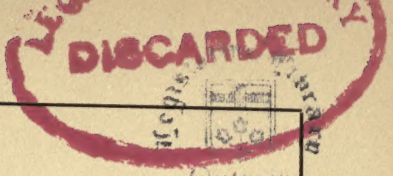
A MODERN CITY

Photo by Wm. Mills & Son

Brown & Sharpe Mfg. Co. Rhode Island State Normal School Rhode Island State House

UNION STATION, PROVIDENCE, R. I.

19798



A MODERN CITY

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND, AND ITS ACTIVITIES

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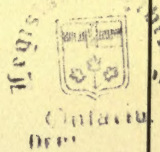

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PREFACE

This book aims to present the physical characteristics, the racial elements, the commercial and industrial growth, the labor conditions, and the governmental, financial, educational, aesthetic, philanthropic, and religious activities of a typical American city. Providence, with its favorable location, its historical associations, its growing population, and its expanding trade, offers a most inviting field to the student of municipal life, and may be taken as fairly representative of the average city struggling toward the light. Frequent comparisons between conditions in Providence and those existing elsewhere are made merely to bring out more prominently the principal features in the development of the second city in New England.

The purpose is not to discuss theories or principles of municipal administration, or to present an exhaustive array of facts, but to describe as clearly as possible what a modern city does, and how it does it. The work is not intended as a complete description of any one city, but as a survey of its distinctive characteristics.

The editor sends forth these results of an investigation extending over a period of more than a year with the earnest hope that they will be followed by similar studies of other important centers, until sufficient material is at hand to make possible reasonably safe generalizations. If the facts here presented throw any additional light on the problems of the city, or meet the needs, to some degree at least, of those readers in various parts of the country who wish to learn how one of the oldest and most important industrial centers is endeavoring to solve its difficulties and improve its opportunities, the efforts of the collaborators will not have been in vain.

WILLIAM KIRK

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I

INTRODUCTION

BY

WILLIAM HERBERT PERRY FAUNCE, A.M., D.D., LL.D.

INTRODUCTION

All students of American institutions agree that, while most of our states are fairly succeeding in the task of government, most of our American cities are egregiously failing. We have far more nearly realized our ideals in the government of the state of Illinois than in that of the city of Chicago; in the legislature of Massachusetts than in the common council of Boston; in the steady growth of California than in the tumultuous cross-currents of San Francisco. All European visitors to America, from De Tocqueville to Mr. Bryce, have spoken with admiration of the great commonwealths composing the Republic, but have looked upon our cities with a solicitude approaching dismay.

Under such circumstances it is no wonder that many men have questioned whether our great cities are the friends or the foes of our civilization. We are tempted at times to revert to the shallow sophism that God made the country and man made the town. Is the modern city really the crown of our national development or its chief menace? Is the gigantic and spreading metropolis the highly organized nerve-center of the body politic or the swollen center of disease? Is it ganglion or cancer? Does the city show the first dim outlines of the coming City of God, or does it crouch by our national highways like the Sphinx to devour all who cannot solve its deep riddle? No adequate answer can be given to these questions apart from the historical study of concrete instances. We cannot tell what any institution is, much less what it

will become, until we have patiently inquired how it came to be. As a contribution to such inquiry it may be worth while to study the development of a single city, Providence, which to an extraordinary degree preserves in its present structure the vivid marks of all its past.

Such study of the growth of individual cities is demanded by the newly awakened civic interest of our time. We are slowly acquiring in America that municipal consciousness which has for centuries played so large a part in the history of Europe. The city-state was the ideal of ancient Greece, and loyalty to Athens or Sparta was far stronger than loyalty to the Greek race. The Italian cities, Rome, Florence, Venice, existed long before united Italy was possible. Paris is older than France, and London was the home of commerce and of government when England was still ravaged by the "battles of kites and crows." Only gradually and reluctantly have European cities—with rare exceptions—come together in leagues and federations that have developed into states, and through all the later forms of monarchy and republic still persists the sturdy consciousness of municipal prerogative and responsibility.

But in America the cities have usually attained municipal organization and corporate consciousness only long after the state governments have been established. Our southern states were formed at a time when political leaders shrank from city life and avoided it if possible. Our western states were defined on the map decades before the inhabitants dreamed of city life. For this reason the state universities are usually planted in remote villages—they were to serve states conceived without the domination or even the existence of powerful cities. The cities

came as a late surprise. No city in the United States was ever walled and fortified, like Nuremberg or Constantinople, and no one of them ever acquired the solidarity which such fortification implied and preserved. Our large cities have seldom been political capitals with the national dignity and international outlook of Berlin or Vienna. They have usually possessed no venerable monuments to overawe the popular imagination, no cathedrals to solemnize the squalid life around them, no palaces to speak of long tradition and established rank. With the exception of Washington no American city was ever planned. All the rest have grown like weeds in the sun, beautiful or noisome, as the case may be, but always unforeseen.

Therefore our cities offer unusual opportunity for the study of the unhampered play of social, political, and industrial forces. They have waxed great without any monarchical interference and almost without state control. They have sprawled into being, amazing our prophets and appalling our rulers. Hence we ought to study their origins and trace step by step the portentous or promising development. We shall surely find that what appears so lawless is yet the steady unfolding of tendencies hereditary and acquired. We shall find geographical, biological, psychological factors, all working toward the present result. We shall discover in every existing municipal institution the influence of race, of political theory, of social ideal, of religious conviction, and shall see how in today walks yesterday, still alive and potent.

Providence furnishes peculiar facilities for such study because of its slow and steady growth, its development

from within, and its loyalty to tradition. Many other cities have expanded because of immigration, or because of the sudden development of a single manufacturing enterprise, or because of the deliberate attempt to exploit and advertise their resources. But the temper of Providence is little influenced by her foreign population, deprived, as it largely is, of political power. The growth of the city is not due to any single group of men. Amid all the changes that have come with steam and electricity, large portions of Providence today closely resemble some old-world city, and with their walled gardens, their shaded walks, and their quaint colonial architecture breathe the air and at times reproduce the manners of Bishop Berkeley and the Marquis de Lafayette.

The city was founded explicitly to serve as "a refuge for distressed consciences," and the history of its earliest years includes both the tragedy and the comedy which might be expected from such an aim. On the one hand it was a sacred ark, carrying within it a few great seers and prophets who discerned a principle which has since become fundamental in the Republic. On the other hand, it was a cave of Adullam, where every eccentric and impossible spirit from all the other colonies made his way and claimed asylum. It might be expected that on such unstable foundations only an unstable state could be raised; that with such democratic beginnings the city and the colony would be marked through all its history by radicalism in politics, by disregard of social convention, and would incarnate on the Atlantic seaboard the restless and eager spirit which California has recently illustrated on the Pacific. But if any observers in the early days did thus prophesy, they failed to take account of the forces of

political and social reaction. Of this, however, we will speak later.

It has been well said that the city of Povidence shows three clearly defined stages in its history. It appears first as an agricultural group, then as a commercial city, then as an industrial center.

When Roger Williams and his companions found the "spring of clear sweet water," and came ashore from the frail canoe in 1636, they of course had no other resource in prospect than agriculture. The second generation settled, like the first, along the banks of what is now the Providence River, and the long narrow farms stretched up and back into the hills. A little grazing could be seen here and there; but the placid tending of flocks and herds hardly suited the temper of the pioneers of civil and religious liberty. They were far more interested in the development of agriculture, the building of homes, and the founding of families which should receive and maintain the priceless love of liberty. Yet their very devotion to their principle isolated them both from Europe and America. There was danger of utter provincialism unless they should be drawn into some great enterprise which might link them again to the greater world without.

Such enterprise came to Providence with the opening of its commercial era at the end of the seventeenth century. At first the more adventurous spirits engaged in privateering, where for nearly a century they found an occupation peculiarly congenial and successful. Lax laws gave full scope to the natural individualism which the colonists possessed, and even noted pirates found shelter in Narragansett Bay. But for the most part the privateering was such as all civilized nations counted as legitimate. At the

same time there grew up several families in Providence—notably the four Brown brothers, Nicholas, Joseph, John, and Moses—who showed a commercial grasp and daring in the East India trade which made them leaders in the community. The Brown family alone employed eighty-four vessels in operations reaching all parts of the world. Thus Providence began to grow, and passed from a ragged village by the river-side to something like a true capital, whose citizens were in touch with distant ports, with foreign merchants, with Franklin and Washington and all the Revolutionary leaders. It was foreign trade that brought Providence to consciousness of its power and its mission.

But with the development of the railroads the whole situation was changed. Interior cities acquired new importance. Providence felt its diminishing power as a seaport. With the vanishing of the East India trade, would Providence find other resources?

Then came Samuel Slater to establish at Pawtucket, in 1790, the first cotton-mill in America. Forty years later the Brown family had sold its last trading-vessel, and identified itself with the manufacture of cotton goods. Soon every stream in Rhode Island was harnessed to water-wheels, the ships were lying idle at the rotting wharves, the harbor was filling up, and Providence was the center of whirling spindles that have since brought wealth to the state, and employment to scores of thousands. Through the wealth thus created have come to Providence libraries, art galleries, observatories, resources for education, philanthropy, and scientific study of which even "the golden age of Newport" never dreamed. In no other city have the leaders of industry been more obviously promoters of science and literature and art.

This history is as clearly recorded in existing Providence institutions as the growth of a tree is recorded in its fiber. Once in each year Providence still has its town-meeting, precisely as when the little company of free-holders held their town-lots by the river bank. There is, indeed, but a single item of business to transact—that relative to the Dexter donation—but that annual town meeting is an institution which no citizen would willingly let die.

The names of the streets of the city are rich with suggestion of former conditions. By the river's edge is a series of streets bearing the names "Pound," "Sovereign," "Shilling," and "Doubloon." In various other streets the mild virtues of the Quakers, who had so large a part in the early history, are commemorated. Benevolent Street at one point intersects Benefit Street, and at another, Hope Street. Friendship and Peace are not far away. But more significant than any names is the colonial architecture, the red-brick houses with marble trimmings, and white wooden pillars in front, set back from the street. "I see," said James Russell Lowell when in Providence, "you have fifty feet of self-respect between your houses and the street." Around the typical house is often a walled garden, rich with rhododendrons and magnolias, and sheltered by drooping elms. To such a home anything like publicity is abhorrent; a certain section of modern Newport is alien to Rhode Island. The true Providence home has always shut out the world that it might welcome most generously its friends.

The home has played a far larger part in the life of Providence than in most American cities. Many estates have remained for several generations in the same family. The unit of city life has never been the citizen, but the

family. Devotion to the family is often regarded as the supreme virtue. Infidelity to marriage vows is never forgiven. To preserve the family patrimony, and hand it down undiminished to the children, is esteemed a higher duty than to give to philanthropy, education, or religion. Hence the beautiful devotion to one's fireside which has always marked the city of Providence is often at the expense of civic loyalty and co-operation for the common good. While Massachusetts has exalted citizenship sometimes at the expense of the family, Rhode Island, which has always fronted southward, feels far greater sympathy with the chivalry and domestic devotion of Virginia. The ideals of Providence are today quite at variance with those of Boston, and Cotton Mather is still as unintelligible at the head of Narragansett Bay as was once Roger Williams to the General Court of Massachusetts. The Puritan orthodoxy was never acceptable to the men who surrounded Gilbert Stuart the portrait-painter, or built the Redwood Library, or found delight in the speculations of Bishop Berkeley. The Puritan morality seemed cold and meager to the Providence families who cherished the virtues of the cavaliers, and whose morality was not that of a code but that of a generous and hospitable life. Thus Boston has attained far more nearly genuine municipal democracy than has Providence. It is characteristic of the latter city that she looks with satisfaction on her avoidance of complete democracy, and in the later developments of American cities finds full justification for her historic distrust.

But whatever rights have once been granted to the individual in Providence are forever jealously guarded. Any municipal regulation which threatens individual

liberty is at once made impotent. It has again and again proved impossible to enforce an ordinance requiring citizens to remove the snow from the sidewalk in front of their houses. Estimable citizens have delighted in visible defiance of such a regulation. Every clergyman in Providence who performs a marriage ceremony, and makes proper report of the proceedings to the city authorities, is informed that he can draw on the city for the munificent sum of twenty-five cents. This is because some clerical individualist years ago declined to make such return without proper compensation, claiming that a sovereign citizen could not there be compelled to labor without reward. The courts decided that the objecting citizen was right, he could not be compelled to labor for the state; and now every marriage brings the clergyman the diminutive compensation which vindicates the great principle of personal liberty at the head of Narragansett Bay.

The early tradition of hospitality is still strong and universal. The very fact that certain dangers are avoided by limited suffrage makes hospitality in other directions easier and more delightful. The family festivals of the year are cherished in the deepest veneration. The citizens spare no expense in lavish hospitality, and are never so happy as when entertaining noted guests from afar. Providence has become a "convention city," where the citizens have a peculiar pride in acting as hosts.

In the names of streets, in the architecture of the houses, in the character of the family life, in the jealous protection of individual rights, and in the living tradition of social hospitality the Providence of today is the direct outgrowth of yesterday.

But equally obvious is a certain reaction from some of

the earlier extremes of political doctrine and the consequences which ensued. The present limitations of the right of suffrage make it impossible for anyone to vote without residence of considerable length, and then forbid him to vote for any official having in his power the disbursement of money unless the voter himself possesses a certain amount of property. Just because the colony was at one time filled with "eccentrics," the citizens of a later period have consistently disbelieved in pure democracy. Just because the refugees from other colonies were defiant of social convention, the older families observed all the more strictly the manners and customs of England, and formed a social oligarchy which has only recently dissolved. Just because the leading spirits of sixty years ago feared immigration, they constructed at great expense a political machine which insured safety by the sacrifice of liberty. Thus out of the most heterogeneous of all the thirteen colonies has come by natural reaction the state of all in the North most averse to complete social and political freedom, a state still true to the ideals of Washington rather than to those of Lincoln.

With such a history the dominant temper of Providence must be conservative. Its financial strength has been built up by a sound and cautious policy. If the citizens give slowly to public enterprise, it is because their wealth has come slowly by small increments. The methods of "high finance" they do not understand, and the results they do not envy. Religiously the city is conservative, not as opposed to things novel, but as disinclined to experiment. Political and moral reform in such a community moves forward but slowly. The argument from prosperity is used to answer every argument from justice. "Has not

the state prospered? What more would you have?" But those who seek for more than the multiplying of spindles, and the rolling-up of miles of cotton cloth, bide their time; feeling sure that the love of individual freedom and the welcome to truth, which lie so deep in all the past history of Rhode Island shall yet arise and control present and future unfolding. Providence is a city fair to the eye, goodly to dwell in, and well worth the study to which the following chapters point the way.

II

GEOGRAPHY

BY

CHARLES WILSON BROWN, A.M.

GEOGRAPHY

All large cities show that they are in part the products of the geographic environment. Other things being equal, when the environing factors are favorable, the city grows; when unfavorable, the city eventually declines. These influences were more powerful perhaps, in earlier ages before the barriers of land and sea were conquered by steam and electricity than they are in the present age of applied science. But even now the struggle between cities for survival is comparable in intensity with the contest among the individuals of which they are composed and the issue may turn upon the possession of the most favorable environment.

Providence, with its variety of physical features, the broad Bay and winding, rapid rivers, hills and level plains, gives an excellent opportunity to determine how these factors of environment have influenced the growth of the city.

Geographic location, physiographic features, geologic agencies, and even the underlying rock structure, have all played some part, small or great, favorable or unfavorable, in the development of a modern city like Providence. Certain major factors, however, are dominant throughout the entire life-history of great cities. These principal influences that govern the development of a city are two: ready communication with the outside world by the ocean, and easy access to an extensive interior area by land or water. The lack of the first may hamper the city's development considerably and restrict its trade to local products

and to costly overland routes, as in the case of Denver and Indianapolis. Without the second factor the city's docks become merely a trans-shipping port though it may have a cosmopolitan trade. Valparaiso, hemmed in by the lofty Andes, is a case in point. Buenos Aires, however, illustrates the possibilities that await a city which has both factors, a rich interior easy of access, and ready outside communication. At one time Providence had the same opportunities, but changing economic conditions have materially decreased them.

There are minor factors, nevertheless, that may modify the development of a city to a certain extent. Economic conditions that vary through the centuries may favor a city at one time and work against it at another. Thus, in the eighteenth century, the crooked channel and shallow harbor of Providence were but slight impediments to the passage of the light vessels of the time, with their small draft, and the tonnage of the city equaled that of Boston and New York. In the twentieth century, however, though the depth of the channel has been increased to twenty-five feet, it is insufficient for a battleship or a "Lusitania," and the sharp turns make the entrance difficult even for the larger coasting vessels. The conditions of the harbor, therefore, have directly tended to hold back the city from attaining the importance of the other centers of population on the Atlantic seaboard. Again, cities under conditions of normal growth require a certain area for expansion. Pittsburgh, for instance, situated in a narrow valley surrounded by hills, is at a pronounced disadvantage when contrasted with Indianapolis built on a broad fertile plain. A navigable river, moreover, is a distinct advantage to an adjacent city.

RELIEF MAP OF PROVIDENCE AND VICINITY

[*See over*]

The map comprehends an area 10 × 13 miles and shows the location of Providence on the plain and hills about the head of Narragansett Bay. The lighter areas indicate water, the darker portions, land, and the black lines, cities, towns, roads, boundaries, etc. The eastern faces of the elevations are in the shadow by the light which comes from a little north of west. The ancient rocks lie west of a curving line drawn northward from Natick to Central Falls. The meandering course of the Pawtuxet River passes through the comparatively flat plain of glacial débris that half buries Rocky Hill and extends north of Pawtucket and east of the state line.

Nevertheless, the value of a river depends directly upon the distance of the city from the mouth. Interruptions to navigation by falls and rapids are really but blessings in disguise, for though they hinder traffic, they furnish water power. Thus they have influenced powerfully the growth and the industries of St. Paul and Minneapolis, Holyoke and Providence.

The most obvious characteristic in the position of Providence is its site at the head of a long estuary of the Atlantic, Narragansett Bay, into which a number of rivers empty. If the region were elevated, it would be evident that all these tributary streams once found their way to the sea through an ancient "Narragansett River," but a pronounced depression of the adjacent land has allowed the ocean to encroach upon the shore, and has "drowned" this old river valley. "Providence River," the mile-long extension at the head of the bay, coincides with the former course of this prehistoric river channel. This deepening process gave great advantages to the city, for rivers which have flowed into the sea for centuries at the same level usually build out deltas which, by shoaling the water, seriously interfere with navigation. The subsidence has submerged the delta as well as the valley, so that ocean craft may sail some distance into the land area to discharge their cargoes in the heart of the city. Providence River has an eastern branch of quiet tide water which extends four miles north to Pawtucket, while the western branch forks just above the junction at what is now one of the busiest market-places. Formerly this civic center was but a tidal marsh a quarter of a mile wide, called the "Cove."

A long north-south hill with a thin mask of sand

and gravel serves as a divide between the eastern and western branches of the river. Its western scarp is bold, while the eastern slope is considerably gentled by the deposition upon its lower portion of a smooth plain of sand and gravel, which the rivers have cut and terraced. This plain, formed from glacial débris washed southward from the front of the waning ice-sheet at the end of the glacial period, has a gentle southerly inclination of about ten feet to the mile and an altitude near the city of about sixty-five feet. The newer additions to the city are built upon it, and, together with the smaller and lower flood-plains developed by the rivers, it forms the principal area of Providence. Occasionally there rises above its level surface the rocky core of a hill sparsely covered with glacial gravels, or a larger accumulation of glacial detritus in the form of a kame moraine tract. College Hill, the divide between the branches of the Providence River, is one of the most important forms of the elevations of the first type, while Fort Hill and Fields Point are illustrations of the latter.

The western slope of College Hill, rising sharply over a hundred feet from the most central and busiest part of the city, is one of the most conspicuous features of the topography. Nothing but a slope too long and steep for easy travel or heavy teaming would have for centuries prevented the occupation of the sides and the top by warehouses and business blocks. In spite, however, of its proximity to the business center, the portions of the hill nearest the post-office are reserved for the academic interests that cluster about Brown University, and for one of the best residential districts. This elevation gives costly homes but three blocks from Market Square all the

isolation from the noises of a city that otherwise could be secured only by many times that distance.

The glacial agents which were directly responsible for making the western slope of College Hill so steep and the eastern incline more gentle were instrumental, as well, in the formation of Windmill, Rocky, and Neutaconkanut Hills, situated near the borders of the city. On the relief map these hills show their rounded contours smoothed by the glacial scour, excepting the southerly faces of the latter elevation, which were made very precipitous by the "plucking" action of the ice-sheet overriding from the north. The plain mentioned before, made by the glacial outwash, skirts these hills, and extends southward for several miles. A soil map of the state of Rhode Island which distinguishes the finer, richer sediments of this plain from the coarser, more sterile gravels in the rest of the state, shows how effectively the latter have retarded settlement and development. Practically only 6 per cent. of the population is found more than ten miles away from the bay with its associated fertile glacial plains.

Not only have glacial agents been effective in remodeling the surface, but the composition and structure of the bed-rock have exerted a passive, but none the less strong, influence on the topography about Providence. A relief map shows that the city is situated at the western edge of a broad, slightly rolling plain which extends eastward to Brockton and the granite hills of Fall River. Even within the city limits there is an abrupt transition from the western boundary of this rather low area to the hilly uplands—the roots of worn-down mountains—that rise higher and higher to a little over eight hundred feet at the western border of the state. This upland area, with a sparse population,

is made up of crystalline igneous and metamorphic rocks, tougher than the softer rocks of the thickly settled lowlands to the east. This eastern region, constituting the old Carboniferous section of the Narragansett Basin, is made up of thousands of feet in thickness of fine and coarse sediments—shales, sandstones, and conglomerates or pudding-stones—washed, in part, from these very heights to the west. These sedimentary rocks have proved less resistant to the weathering influences of the past, and have been degraded to a greater extent than the crystallines.

So intimately have the topographic features of Providence and its vicinity been the result of geological agencies that they cannot be understood without considering the geological history. Subjected to too many processes of nature to leave many distinctive lineaments, the fragments in this region show that the whole area was formerly probably covered with quartzite or indurated sandstone into which long tongues of molten lava were intruded, over which possibly some lava flowed. These formations were afterward compressed and changed by the enormous forces at work in the crust of the earth, and, at the same time, lines of yielding were developed, which allowed an entrance to intrusions from underlying reservoirs of molten granite which ran through the earlier rocks in all directions deep down in the shell of the globe. Still later, a continental uplift made the rivers cut through the softer rocks, leaving as hills the masses of harder granites fronting the great Narragansett Basin. The waste of the elevations, mixed with decaying vegetation in swampy expanses along the western shore-line of this basin during the later Paleozoic times, formed the coaly shales about Cranston; and subsequently, probably through marked changes in

climate and methods of erosion, large quantities of boulders, gravels, and sands were accumulated in thick beds of sandstones and conglomerates above the shales in this basin in the Upper Carboniferous period.

Immediately after this deposition came a period of uplift of this northeasterly trough through the action of the enormous compressive forces in the crust of the earth which at that time not only elevated the northeastern portions of the United States, but also cumulated in a series of mighty wrinkles of the surface rocks and gave birth to the folds of the Appalachians. These agencies sharply crumpled the shaly lower rocks of the western Narragansett Basin, but in the eastern part formed only gentle folds in the coarser rocks of the upper series. Since then there has been no extensive submergence and sedimentation.

Glaciation was the last great geologic agent which affected this section, and though the process may have been shorter than some of the others, it was none the less intense and far-reaching in modeling the topography, and in influencing the development of mankind. It is unnecessary here to go into a discussion of the causes that led to a general refrigeration of northern America and Europe, culminating in the glacial period, when huge masses of snow and ice gathered in centers thousands of feet in thickness, and spread southwardly, fanlike, in the United States nearly to Mason and Dixon's Line. The effects, however, of the ponderous movement of this continental ice-sheet are of tremendous importance. All soils and rock-débris made through the ages were scraped away by the ice, and gathered near its margins in irregular hummocks or more regular plains; numerous ponds

were scoured out of the rock-basins, like Flat River Reservoir to the west of Providence, or formed by the deposition of waste material which dammed back the drainage, as in the South County; rivers, which had established a steady gradient through the long process of time, and had eliminated falls and rapids, had their profiles much changed by basins graven deeply by rocks held firmly in the bottom ice of the moving continental glacier, and often were choked and diverted from their beds by the immense amount of detritus left by the retreating ice; hills were rounded off so that they do not present the craggy aspect of unglaciated sections. As the country became warmer and the ice gradually melted, large amounts of water swept the glacial débris into ice-blocked lakes, and thick masses of sands and gravels smoothed the contours steepened by the movements of the ice, and formed the plain mentioned before.

The varying effects of erosive processes upon the different rocks were strongly emphasized by glaciation. The resistance of the old crystalline shore-line was marked, while the upturning of some beds in the softer sediments to the east preserved Rocky and College Hills. The northeasterly line that marks with the contrast of hill and plain the change from the crystallines to the sediments is a prominent feature of the topography to the west of Providence. The uplands were robbed of their finer waste material to contribute to the leveling of the plain to the east, and to provide material to be weathered into fertile soils. Valleys were filled, and the river gradients in this plain were left too low to furnish the water power that remained as a compensation to the uplands for the theft of their soils.

Unfortunately the glaciation did not erode the rock-bottom of the bay equally in all places, but left numerous reefs and islands projecting from the shore or the bottom of the channel which require several light-houses. These reefs check the currents so that they deposit the mud and sands in bars and spits which make dangerous the passage from Newport to Providence. The channel is consequently costly in maintenance, and has sharp turns which make navigation difficult for sailing vessels in unfavorable winds, thus necessitating the expense of towage. Fogs also make the crooked passage difficult for larger steam vessels. Though it might be possible, taking into consideration the present set of the tidal currents, to straighten the channel and to deepen it by constructing jetties to make the tides do a certain amount of scouring, the natural conditions of the approach to the harbor are not favorable.

The rivers about Providence are of two types, the tidal and the ordinary drainage stream modified by glacial scour. The Seekonk, the only representative of the first class, is navigable to the head of the tide at Pawtucket for coal barges and smaller steam craft, and could be utilized to a greater extent, though the numerous bridges just east of Providence interfere somewhat with the traffic. The rivers of the more important second class, numerous though small, have many rapids which mark as many water-power sites for adjacent factories that were started when water power was more important than now.

The Blackstone River, for example, rises near Worcester, falls 450 feet to salt water at Pawtucket, and is utilized more by the mills along its course than any other river of similar size in the United States. Nine villages

in the last seven miles mark as many mill sites. In this string of typical New England "mill villages" some are found that have taken their names from the physical feature that was the reason for their origin—Central Falls and Valley Falls. The east fork of the Providence River, the Moshassuck River, which was in all probability the glacial course of the Blackstone, has frequent towns in its short course. Branching west from the head of Providence River is the Woonasquatucket River, which falls one hundred feet to tidewater in five miles, with nine villages in that distance. The Pawtuxet River empties into the Bay several miles south of its head. Above the junction of the glacial plain and the uplands, this river has a fall of one hundred and ten feet in fifteen miles and boasts of a larger number of mill villages than any of its neighbors in the state. In one section of five miles in its course, forty thousand souls live and work in ten villages.

The importance of these rivers in influencing the character, location, and occupation of a large number of the population and in directing the general development of this region, comes from two factors. Glaciation, in the first place, gave the rapids and the pronounced fall to the rivers. The encroachment of the ocean upon the rivers, secondly, has brought a means of cheap transportation close to opportunities for cheap production. The introduction of steam may have changed the motive power but not the location and prestige of Greater Providence as a manufacturing center.

In the settlement of a new country, the trails follow the lines of least resistance and later roads make but slight changes, but during the subsequent development roads, and especially railroads, are constructed with the assist-

ance of modern engineering with an eye to economy of distance and ease of transportation. In spite of the influence of these two factors, we may see in the roads about Providence evidences of the silent control of the topography. As usual, the easy gradients of the valleys were quickly occupied by the railroads. One branch of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad enters the city through the Moshassuck valley, skirting the east front of the more hilly uplands toward Long Island Sound, while another branch follows the east shore of the bay for miles, and approaches the city from the south at tidewater. The flood-plains of the western branches of the Providence River are so narrow that the railroad could not pass through the city to connect with the main line, and so it was forced to disembark at Fox Point its passengers, who depended for connections upon the surface cars. Many schemes to ameliorate this condition have been proposed, and recently a tunnel has been successfully completed through College Hill, which enables passengers from the southeast to proceed directly to the Union Station. The enormous outlay on this tunnel has been made to economize time, and to afford a method of transportation easier than the topography permitted. Only where these needs are most pressing do we find the railroads seeking to circumvent Nature. In other places man yields to his environment, as is the case in the winding valleys of the Blackstone, Woonasquatucket, and Pawtuxet Rivers, which are followed by the radiating railways.

Since the control of tributary regions aids a city in its growth, it is interesting to compare the resources and sphere of influence of Providence with those of neighboring cities. The rough, hilly country to the west and northwest

prevents any considerable immediate competition from the centers of population in the Connecticut and Massachusetts valleys. Eastward, the extent of plain has favored the growth of the smaller centers of the Attleboros, Taunton, Mansfield, and Fall River. The latter, though it has a good harbor, has not crossed the Taunton River to the north, though there is plenty of room, but has climbed the steep hillsides to the south, responding to the initial impetus given by the splendid water power in the heart of the city, which has brought it to the front in cotton manufacturing. Outside of the immediate suburbs of these towns, the control of the fertile plain may be said to lie with Providence alone, and this section will eventually furnish much market-garden produce.

The arrangement of the streets indicates another control the topography has had upon the development of the city. The original site was at the water's edge, so the center of activity naturally lay about the head of Providence River where the wharves were located. The owners of vessels were thus able to see, from their homes on the slopes of College Hill above, their ships discharge cargoes from Virginia or Far Cathay. Main and Canal Streets were the connecting ways between the docks, and the names of the cross-streets—"Shilling," "Doubloon," "Dollar"—indicate the cosmopolitan nature of the trade that passed along their narrow ways. The river had swung in so close to the base of College Hill, that only a few warehouses could be situated there, and they had to be built on the other side of the river, while the factories followed closely upon the heels of the warehouses, for they must be near the supplies of fuel and raw material. The V-shaped area opening

southwest between the railroad in the valley, and the head of the bay was thus left for the retail section, which evidently should not be far from the source of supplies that come in large packages from the warehouses or transportation lines, though they need not be adjacent to the consuming regions to which materials are carried in small packages. The shopping district is peculiar in being contained in a long narrow ellipse, formed by two narrow streets, Westminster and Weybosset, which branch at Turk's Head, and continue nearly parallel for several blocks, only to unite at the Doyle Monument, comprehending in this distance most of the department stores and large supply shops. On the hill east of the College campus Brook Street marks a depression once followed by a stream, along which the slave-quarters were established, in the early days before freedom was given to the numerous slaves of the Plantation. It is a curious fact that there is today a section in which negroes are nearly the sole inhabitants not far from these slave-quarters of the old régime.

The flat top of College Hill offered an easy escape for those who wished to be close to the business of the city, and yet be above the low ground, and so most of the finer residences are found there. The abundance of land and absence of topographic difficulties on the level, gravelly plain to the southwest invited the laying-out of generous house lots on broad avenues—Elmwood Avenue, Broadway, and Broad Street—which were rapidly settled by people who wished to be near the city, and enjoy easy methods of transportation.

The plains to the east and west are of great advantage to Providence, for they afford unlimited opportunities for expansion. A location in an area which restricts its

growth prevents the proper development of any city. This is especially evident in valley cities, like Harrisburg and Pittsburgh, where building-sites are limited by the width of the flood-plains or river bottoms. New York City is one of the most marked instances, for as the long tongue of Manhattan was filled, it overflowed to the shores of the surrounding rivers and bay. The need for land was so great that it could only be overcome by the erection of the modern costly skyscrapers, with forty floors to give the room that with buildings of ordinary height the mere acreage of their foundations could not provide. As the streets and sidewalks were not widened to accommodate the added thousands, the problems of congestion are far from being solved.

Few cities have had such opportunities for artistic development as Providence, but it must be confessed that its possibilities might have been more utilized, for its environs comprehend a hilly section, rivers, ponds, and the varied shore-line of the neighboring bay. A beginning has been made, however, and a portion of Neutaconkanut Hill has been set apart as a park. The hummocky glacial deposits to the southwest, with their kettle-holes, have been made into a beautiful park, in which shady, winding drives and walks skirt many connected lagoons. Though Prospect Terrace sweeps a smaller horizon than the Promenade at Portland, Maine, yet it overlooks boldly the greater part of the busiest portion of Providence. The reservation from the encroachment of factories of a portion of the shore-line on the Seekonk near Swan Point Cemetery and the Butler Asylum is greatly to be desired, as the long expanse of water-front has but a short drive except that within the cemetery.

The differential erosion of the various rocks, especially by glaciation, has exercised a profound influence on the topography of Providence and its environs. The harbor is too difficult of entrance to give a very wide range of trade, but Nature has, however, through glaciation and subsidence, provided an attractive location, and brought water power close to tide-water, thus giving the start toward making it the manufacturing center of the present. Some of the topographic restrictions have been conquered by the ingenuity of man; a tunnel has pierced College Hill; Cat Swamp has been made a residence section; the head of Providence River is now forced to run in a cement conduit, whose roof forms one of the busiest squares; the adjacent Cove has been filled in and paved, thus providing another large, unique, open space about which public buildings are grouped.

It is evident that Providence has many geographic advantages, for its situation is beautiful and its resources are many. Ample space for growth is found on the adjacent plains, and there is plenty of land not far distant upon which to rely for daily supplies. When the city fully realizes its many advantages of charming water-front and varied landscape, there is no reason, with its wealth and prestige, why it should be second to any city in beauty. As a port and with an improved harbor Providence could bring in its raw materials cheaply and find ready transportation for its manufactures. Extension of some of the overland routes would expand its influence inland. By the improvement of some of its resources, the greater utilization of others, it would be difficult to place a limit to the future extension of its present industrial greatness and wealth.

III

POPULATION

BY

WILLIAM MACDONALD, PH.D., LL.D.

POPULATION

The state census of 1905 showed a population in Providence of 198,635. The population of the city five years previous, as returned by the federal census, was 175,597. The gain since 1900, therefore, was 23,038, or 13.12 per cent. The rate of increase was larger by 1.1 per cent. than the rate of increase in the state as a whole, and larger also than that of any other city in the state except Woonsocket. In comparison with American cities of approximately similar situation the growth in numbers was healthy and vigorous, but without striking features.

Any study of the population of Providence, however, must take account at the outset of the peculiar position which Providence occupies in relation to the state as a whole, and also to the northern part of the commonwealth. The population of Rhode Island in 1905 was 480,082. The city of Providence, with 198,635 inhabitants, thus contained but 41,406 less than half of the total population of the state. No other city or town contained anywhere near an equal number of people, or seems likely at any time to be a close competitor for first place. Pawtucket, for example, the next city in point of numbers, had a population of 43,381. Only seven communities in the state, besides Providence, contained more than ten thousand inhabitants each, while of the thirty-eight towns and cities which make up the commonwealth, twenty-two had less than five thousand inhabitants each. Providence, in other words, is not only the largest city in Rhode Island, and the second in point of size in New England, but its

population is also so much in excess of that of any other town or city in the state as to place it, for many purposes, in a class by itself. In its relation at this point to the state, it suggests comparison with the relation of New York City to the State of New York, of Boston to Massachusetts, of Baltimore to Maryland, or of Chicago to Illinois.

The mere statement of the figures of population, however, gives but an imperfect idea either of the extent to which population is massed in the northern part of the state, or of the problems with which government, industry, and social betterment have to deal even in the Rhode Island metropolis itself. For many industrial and social purposes, the adjacent cities and towns of Pawtucket, Central Falls, North Providence, Cranston, Johnston, and East Providence form, with Providence, one community. Their combined population in 1905 was 301,148, or more than two-thirds of the total population of the state. The industrial life of these several municipalities is essentially the same; the lines which separate one from another are for the most part no longer distinguishable; they are connected by a network of steam and electric railways which, centering in Providence, make intercommunication easy; and their remotest extremities are not far apart in either distance or time. In consequence, a considerable number of persons whose occupations are in Providence live in one or other of these near-by places, while the growth of the settled area, especially in localities largely peopled by foreigners, proceeds with regard to other considerations than municipal lines.

It is, unfortunately, impossible to show statistically and in detail the growth of population in recent years in different parts of the city. Both the federal and the state

censuses enumerate the population by wards, but changes in the ward-lines between 1895 and 1900, and again between 1900 and 1905, were of such a character as to make even general comparison based on the figures for wards untrustworthy.

The figures do reveal, however, a considerable unevenness in the distribution of the population by wards, and an unevenness, too, which does not correspond to the relative territorial size of the several wards. For example, the ninth ward, the most populous in the city, has only about one-fourth the area of the third ward, which nearly equals it in population, or of the second ward, whose population is less by 6,940.

On the other hand, it should of course be borne in mind that in a number of wards the total area of the ward is not the same as the available residence area. Parks, cemeteries, public institutions, and similar places occupy, in several of the wards, extensive tracts within whose bounds there can be, from the nature of the case, few or no permanent residents. Account has further to be taken of the existence, in various parts of the city, of considerable tracts on which there has been, as yet, little or no building for residential purposes. In some cases, of course, such tracts represent specially undesirable land, or land on which building involves special difficulty or expense, or which is remote from a street-car line. In a few instances vacant lots are held by their owners for a better class of buyers, or as manufacturing rather than residential sites. Allowing for all these exceptional incidents, however, it still remains true that appreciable areas within the city limits are still unoccupied and that vacant lots even in the most densely populated regions are not scarce. So

far as available land is concerned, Providence is as yet far from having reached the limit of its resources, even on a generous basis of real-estate allotment.

While, as has been said, a comparative exhibit of the growth of the city by wards or other generally recognized divisions cannot be made, a comparison of the population with the occupied territory makes it clear that the growth of the city population as a whole has not been accompanied by an equal extension of the well-settled area; but that, on the contrary, population has tended to crowd more closely the districts in which a considerable, sometimes a redundant, population already existed.

Of this tendency, so commonly noted in the larger cities of the United States, Providence offers numerous instructive illustrations. The first ward, for example, includes not only the larger number of the most attractive and costly residences, many of them set in large grounds, but also, on its western and southern fringe, quarters which, already poverty-stricken and uninviting, not only tend to become less attractive year by year, but which are also increasingly crowded and repressed by the encroachment of business along the water-front. Notwithstanding the high prices of land and building material in the last few years, one sees in all parts of the ward the subdivision of estates, the steady appropriation of vacant lots, and the erection of double houses and small apartment residences. The only extensive tract, previously vacant, built up in recent years lies east of Wayland and Butler Avenues, and is occupied principally by comparatively expensive houses located on large lots. As this area forms only a small fraction of the ward, it is clear that the obvious growth of population here means the future crowding of a region

already for some years thickly populated and practically all built over.

In the second and third wards, the existence of considerable unbuilt tracts has operated to relieve the pressure upon the more densely populated areas; but the thickly settled parts of these wards, along North Main, Charles, Admiral, and Smith Streets, and between North Main and Camp Streets, show a decided tendency to congestion. One reason for this is the presence in these wards of large foreign elements, a subject which will be referred to later. The fourth ward, embracing the business center of the city and the principal hotels, naturally shows many blocks with a relatively small fixed population; while few of the houses which remain are desirable as residences. Relatively, therefore, the population of this ward is dense. The small numbers, 10,402, in the fifth ward are due to the encroachment of business along the water-front, and the marked deterioration of large districts as places of residence. Some of the worst quarters and most difficult social elements in the city are to be found in this ward and in the adjacent parts of the fourth ward. The sixth and seventh wards, on the other hand, have extensive residential districts of marked attractiveness, into which the better elements of the fourth and fifth wards have to some extent flowed.

The ninth ward, the most densely as well as the most numerously populated of all, owes its character in these respects chiefly to the Italians, who have colonized there more largely than in any other part of Providence; and who have even overflowed somewhat into the adjoining tenth ward. The larger part of the dense population of the latter ward, however, in the Mount Pleasant district, is

English-speaking. Mount Pleasant is notably a region of small, modest, comfortable homes, with the houses closely placed and as closely filled, but without anything fairly to be called overcrowding. The populous part of the eighth ward is about Olneyville Square, in close proximity to the mills with which this part of the city is filled.

Further light on the distribution of the population is shed by a study of the enumeration districts made use of in the state census of 1905. In forming these districts, regard was had to the amount of work which could be done by an enumerator in the time at his disposal, taking into account the territory to be covered as well as the probable population to be enumerated. An inspection of the returns from the one hundred and eighteen districts shows, accordingly, much variation in the number of inhabitants returned. The smallest district, a business area in the fourth ward bounded by Westminster Street, Providence River, Elm, Richmond, and Mathewson Streets, contained a population of 583; the largest, a residence section in the third ward bounded by the North Providence line, Woodward Road, Veazie Street, Branch Avenue, Hawkins and Admiral Streets, returned 3,137. Of the 118 districts, 10 contained less than 1,000 persons, 37 contained from 1,000 to 1,500, 39 from 1,500 to 2,000, 21 from 2,000 to 2,500, and 10 over 2,500. Districts of 2,000 population and upward were found in every ward, but those of 2,500 and upward appeared only in the fifth, eighth, ninth, and tenth wards.

Taking the city over, the enumeration districts show that the densest masses of population were along the water-front, and in the region south of Power Street and between the Providence and Seekonk Rivers, in the first

ward; about North Main and Camp Streets and Hope Street as far as Cypress, in the second ward; about Branch Avenue, Douglas Avenue, Admiral and Charles Streets, in the third ward; Eddy, Friendship, Pine, and Broad Streets, in the fourth ward, continuing with the addition of Prairie Avenue into the fifth ward; the parts of the ninth ward cut by Cranston, Westminster, and Broad Streets, Broadway, and Atwell's Avenue; the region about Olneyville Square, in the eighth and adjacent wards; and the Mount Pleasant district in the tenth ward. Save for the break made by the business area, the manufacturing region along the Woonasquatucket River, the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad terminal property, and the State Capitol and Normal School, this thickly settled area is practically one continuous district radiating irregularly along main street-car lines, from Market Square and Exchange Place.

While the movement of population into these different parts of the city has been much affected by the extension of street-car lines, it can hardly be said that the extension of the settled area is mainly dependent in the first instance upon adequate transportation. In a number of localities, settlement has preceded the extension of car lines, cheap lands or low rentals rather than transportation being apparently the determining influences. Once a region has begun to be occupied, however, the facilities for reaching it by street car have counted materially in its growth; though since the five-cent fare is universal throughout the city, the points to be considered are the size of cars, the frequency of trips, and the consequent efficient or inefficient handling of crowds at rush hours. Speaking generally, of course, the wage-earning classes will walk to

their work rather than ride; and the growth of those localities beyond the easy walking limit does not greatly relieve the pressure upon the localities nearer the business centers. It should further be observed that the location of the street-car lines has favored the growth of population along parallel lines already referred to, the West Side particularly being practically destitute of cross-town lines, except such as go through Market Square or Exchange Place. There is, for example, no way by which a resident of the crowded region of Atwell's Avenue or Mount Pleasant can reach the less-crowded seventh and eighth wards by electric cars, save by a long ride to the center of the city and out again.

So far as the distribution of its population is concerned, Providence can hardly be said to present phenomena of unusual or striking sort. Here, as elsewhere, the great determining influences have been the spread of the business and manufacturing areas and the cohesion of race. The wage-earners who make up the bulk of the population have congregated as closely as possible to the localities in which their work lies, walking to the shop, mill, or store when they can, riding when they must; and they have been but slowly drawn off by the attractions of less-crowded areas, with their offering of less-crowded quarters and more out-of-door life. The growth of manufacturing and other forms of business, wherever it has encroached upon residence districts, has tended to drive out well-to-do residents from near-by streets, thereby lowering real-estate values for rental purposes, and bringing upon the market low-priced houses and apartments of which the laboring classes have been quick to take advantage. No choice residence section of Providence abuts immediately on a

business or manufacturing establishment of the larger sort.

On the other hand, we find plentiful illustrations of the cohesion of race. Members of the same race have drawn together, creating little foreign colonies like that of the Italians in the ninth ward, or the Russian Jews about North Main and Charles Streets, or the Portuguese along the lower East Side; and while these groups show some tendency to dispersion, the race-cohesion is still, for most purposes, practically complete. The two influences of conditions of labor and cohesion of race, however, are as often found acting separately as in conjunction. Among the native-born, for example, the influence of race counts for less in determining a choice of residence than it does among the foreign-born. Ability to speak English, joined to the inevitable adoption of American ways of life and dress, rapidly assimilates the foreigner to the rest of the population, making him more acceptable as a neighbor, at the same time rendering him less dependent upon the aid and society of his countrymen. With the Italians, race is the greater factor, the larger proportion of the Italian laborers living remote from their work. The same influence predominates in the small negro colonies on Federal Hill and Meeting and Cushing Streets, though in this case the apparent unwillingness of landlords in many parts of the city to rent houses to negroes is forcing the members of that race into ever-narrowing quarters. A similar attraction of race has drawn together the Russian Jews, the Poles, and the Lithuanians. Perhaps the best example of the balanced working of the two forces is found among the Bravas, a mixed Portuguese and negro people, who are chiefly employed as longshoremen and sea-

men, and who live for the most part on the East Side within a stone's throw of their work.

To one accustomed to such dense masses of population as are to be found in parts of New York, Chicago, and some other large cities, Providence does not seem particularly crowded. Large parts of the city, indeed, have more the appearance of a populous town than of a busy manufacturing community of nearly two hundred thousand people. The typical large tenement house, with its score or more of families in small and crowded apartments, is conspicuous by its absence, only a few isolated specimens being discoverable. The great majority of people in Providence live either in separate or "whole" houses, or in double houses of the familiar pattern, or in apartment houses or flats containing two or three families each. Of the 25,204 dwellings reported by the federal census of 1900, 14,512 had one family each, 8,622 had two families each, and but 1,313 had three families each; while only eighty-five contained six families, two contained ten families, and seven contained eleven families or more. To use another census comparison, of 39,236 families, 14,512 lived in one-family houses, 17,244 in two-family houses, and but 3,939 in three-family houses. It is doubtless true that many of the so-called "dwellings" which house more than six families present the familiar conditions of overcrowding, and often lack proper sanitary conveniences; but it is still the case, notwithstanding the influx of foreigners and the pressing demand for cheap rents, that structures of this class are decidedly the exception.

Throughout the city, moreover, dwellings of more than three stories in height are rare, and blocks of residences are infrequent. The erection of apartment houses or

family hotels of the better class has proceeded with singular slowness; on the East Side, until within a few years, they were unknown notwithstanding the high price of land and the desirability of the section as a place of residence; and nowhere in the city does the suggestion of them meet with general favor. In the face of a steady rise of rents in every favorable locality, and of a demand for modern accommodations in excess of the supply, investors still assert that apartment houses would not pay, that there is no sufficient demand for them, and that social opinion does not favor them. Of the five houses of this description on the East Side which would commonly be regarded as first-class, one is occupied by university students and instructors, one is a family hotel, two offer apartments at a moderate price, and one is inaccessible save for the well-to-do. As business ventures, all are regarded as profitable.

For persons of moderate means, however, the double house or house of two apartments represents, in general, the limit of tolerance; and as yet most of the wage-earning families are similarly housed. There is a growing demand for houses of this class, and construction has gone on notwithstanding the high cost of building materials and labor in recent years. In addition, there is a rapid conversion of old houses, particularly houses built a generation ago and no longer fashionable, into apartments suitable for small families who will be content with a few elementary conveniences. A separate entrance, a second-story piazza or bay window, a bath-room, and possibly an enlarged heating plant are usually all that are needed to achieve the transformation; and the cost is not great. As most of these residences are of wood and without architectural

pretensions, they give to a locality an undeniable air of cheapness and commonness—a characteristic heightened by the tendency of older, wealthier, or more exclusive residents to remove from a section thus invaded. One is forced to the conclusion that Providence, thus far peculiarly a city of homes, is rapidly undergoing transformation in this respect.

Of 132,889 persons in Providence classed by the state census as native born—that is, born in the United States —94,203 were born in Rhode Island. The state furnishing the next largest number was Massachusetts, which contributed 16,621, while New York furnished 5,219, Connecticut 5,198, Maine 2,189, New Hampshire 1,373, and Vermont 1,190. The following table shows by wards the comparative number of native born, Rhode Island born, and Massachusetts born in 1905:

	Total Native Born	Rhode Island Born	Massachusetts Born
Ward 1	13,751	9,469	1,565
Ward 2	12,783	9,321	1,492
Ward 3	13,285	10,449	1,223
Ward 4	11,770	6,752	2,169
Ward 5	13,323	9,642	1,641
Ward 6	14,712	10,188	2,010
Ward 7	13,453	8,939	1,782
Ward 8	13,438	9,851	1,658
Ward 9	13,677	9,930	1,618
Ward 10	12,697	9,662	1,463

The foreign-born elements show, as is to be expected, great diversity of origin and varied distribution. Of the total population of 198,635, 65,746 were born abroad. Of these 17,155 were born in Ireland, 12,114 in Italy, 9,795 in England, 3,685 in Russia, 3,347 in Sweden, 2,211 in Germany, and 1,930 in Scotland. Canada furnished

8,226, of whom 4,005 were French. Of the 2,173 credited to Portugal, 991 claimed the Cape Verde or Western Islands as their birthplace, but a large proportion of the remaining 1,182 "not specified" doubtless came from the same localities. The Turkish contribution of 1,115 included 791 Armenians and 147 Syrians. Eastern and northeastern Europe, other than Turkey, was represented by 670 from Austria, 26 from Bohemia, 80 from Hungary, 188 from Austrian Poland, 16 from German Poland, 974 from Russian Poland, and 303 from Roumania. Most of these people, as of those who give their birthplace as Russia proper, are Jews. There was a small Greek colony of 109, and other similar groups from Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Holland, Lithuania, Norway, Spain, Switzerland, and Wales.

The influence of a foreign population on the life of a community is determined, of course, quite as much by its distribution as by its numerical strength. Looked at from this point of view, Providence unquestionably shows the same tendency to the formation of foreign colonies, with their accompanying congestion of numbers, that has long characterized other American cities in which foreign elements abound. This tendency to colonization, however, is mainly exhibited by the natives of southern and eastern Europe, and by negroes and Jews, while the people of English, Celtic, and Germanic stock show themselves equally disposed to scatter.

For example, of the 2,173 foreign-born Portuguese in Providence, 1,972 were to be found in the first ward, where they have congregated in a small area of cheap tenements along or near the water-front. There is no other foreign-born, non-English-speaking element of appreciable size in

this ward. On the other hand, the Irish, who numbered 2,561 in this ward, are more numerous here than in any other ward except the tenth, where they numbered 2,635; but they are as a whole distributed very evenly throughout the city, the smallest number, 907, being found in the sixth ward, and they do not form colonies distinguishable as such. The Italians, who rank next in numbers to the Irish among the foreign born, are most numerous in the ninth ward, where they aggregated 6,651 in 1905; but the adjacent fourth and eighth wards contained respectively 1,066 and 1,171 persons of Italian birth, while in the third ward, where a considerable amount of cheap land has been and still is available, the foreign-born Italian population numbers 2,786. In their tendency to colonize, the foreign-born Italians occupy almost, if not quite, the first place.

The third ward also contains the largest number of Russians, 2,105, mainly Jews, the next largest number, 458, being in the adjacent second ward. Of the 974 natives of Russian Poland, 409 are in the tenth ward and 320 in the eighth, where they are largely employed as mill operatives. The thickly populated fourth, fifth, and ninth wards contain 445 of the 791 Armenians, 184 being found also in the third ward. The French Canadians are widely scattered, a slight majority of the total number being found in the eighth and tenth wards, where, like the Poles, they work in the mills. Natives of Germany, though fairly numerous, exhibit little social solidarity, but are distributed with singular evenness throughout the city. A little group of Syrians, on the contrary, holds closely together, 126 of the total of 147 living in the ninth ward in the heart of the Italian quarter. The 109 Greeks are

found mainly in two groups, 59 in the fourth ward and 37 in the first ward.

Of all the foreign-born elements of the population, the Irish have become, as a whole, the most thoroughly Americanized and attained the greatest social distinction and favor. They have, indeed, certain obvious tendencies to clannishness. They are predominantly Roman Catholics in religion, though yielding a less and less servile obedience to the church in either belief or attendance; and they are usually Democrats in politics. They still cherish a sentimental antagonism to England, and welcome enthusiastically the Irish members of Parliament and other leaders who from time to time appeal for sympathy and money on behalf of Irish interests and Irish independence. In their clubs and societies, they prefer Roman Catholic speakers, and subjects of sectarian or racial interest. They give liberally for the support of the church and its institutions, and a small minority of them send their children to parochial rather than to public schools. Among the Irish born, especially domestic servants and day laborers, the familiar "brogue" is everywhere heard and is but slowly lost.

In all other important respects, however, save in names, the Irish of Providence have largely lost their identity as such. Neither in dress, nor occupation, nor manner of living, nor attitude toward public affairs are they marked off from the average native-born American stock. They are found in all occupations, from unskilled labor to the management of large businesses. They figure largely on the pay-roll of the city, particularly in the street department and the police and fire services. On the other hand, some of the most prominent professional men in the city,

especially in law, medicine, and dentistry, are themselves either natives of Ireland or children of natives. The mayor of the city in 1907 and 1908 was a native of Ireland. Nor does the race lack gifted and acceptable social leaders, although lines of race and religion are still drawn in social ways. The fact that the Irish are themselves divided into social classes, between which there is in practice as little contact or community of interests as is found in American society as a whole, is a further proof of the dissolution of race peculiarities which contributes to Americanization. Between the successful merchant, lawyer, or physician on the one hand, and the unskilled laborer or domestic servant on the other, there is a fixed social gulf which neither common race nor common religion can bridge, or even attempts to bridge.

In certain respects, the growing numbers of the Irish have contributed their share to social instability and accentuated certain social problems of a grave sort. The unfortunate historical environment of the race in its native land, and the systematic representation of Great Britain as a copious source of injustice and oppression, have unquestionably helped to retard, in certain elements of the Irish people, that distinctive regard for government, law, and order which characterizes the highest Anglo-Saxon civilization. In the United States, where government does not oppress and laws do not harshly constrain, the ignorant, poor, or venal Irish have fallen an easy prey to agitators and demagogues, who have systematically debauched the honor and moral sense of the newcomer under pretense of giving him his rights. It is not without significance that, in spite of a strong sentiment in favor of temperance and total abstinence among the Irish, the

saloon-keepers in Providence should be more largely of the Irish race than of any other, and that drinking with its accompaniments of poverty, fights, and neighborhood brawls, should still be a racial curse. Republican politicians in Providence have for years found it easy to bribe or coerce enough Irish Democrats to demoralize or defeat the plans of the Democratic organization; and the maintenance in office of "yellow dog" Democrats, paid by the Republican machine and known to be subservient to its wishes, is a recognized feature of Providence politics.

The prevalence of such conditions seems to show that there is yet among the Irish an uneven development of racial self-consciousness and self-control, and that liberty, under certain circumstances and with certain classes, still gives way to license. The disappearance of these traits may be looked for as a permanent residence becomes more assured, as material well-being increases, as the schools raise the general average of education and efficiency, as appeals to race-prejudice diminish, and as politics, for which the Irish have peculiar aptitude, are purged of corruption and fraud.

No class of foreigners in the city is more interesting to the student than the Italians. The Italians have come to Providence in large numbers in recent years, and they are still coming. While various parts of Italy are represented among them, far the larger number are peasants from the villages of southern Italy and Sicily, brought to this country by shiploads under an organized system, and reaching Providence mainly from New York. The Italian quarter in the ninth ward is, in some respects, a veritable little Italy, with Italian shops, Italian banks, Italian tenement houses, and Italian dialects on every hand. Save in these

respects, however, and in the presence of native costume among the newcomers, the Italian quarter bears little resemblance to anything that one sees in Italy.

For, contrary to the prevailing impression, the Italian does not prefer to live in crowded quarters. He is not, indeed, accustomed to houses of many rooms, nor is he particular as to the relation between the number of occupants and the number of cubic feet of air. Neither in his person nor in his surroundings at home is he clean or orderly, and he makes slow progress in acquiring such habits here. But he is accustomed to open air, sunshine, and gardens, and his acceptance of such quarters as he will customarily be found occupying on Federal Hill involves a reversal of fundamental habit whose significance few city-bred Americans appreciate, and whose ultimate consequences are not as yet clearly perceived. What drives the Italian to live as he does is, first, his ineradicable desire to be near his own people, to hear his own language spoken, and to see his friends at night and on Sundays and holidays; and, second, poverty, which in most cases forbids him to live in this country as he has been wont to live at home, and forces him to put up with crowded and squalid quarters. Only with reluctance does he surrender or even repress his inherited tastes, and yield for the time being, from force of circumstances, to conditions which at best are repellent.

Of the reassertion of this inborn desire for space and out-of-doors, Providence affords some excellent illustrations. As a rule, one of the first things an Italian does with his savings is to buy a piece of real estate. As soon as he has accumulated a sum sufficient to make the first payment, he buys the property, giving a mortgage for the

balance of the purchase money, and then saves assiduously until the mortgage is discharged. In most cases he buys for personal occupancy, though there are now a number of Italians in the city who hold considerable parcels of real estate as investments. This acquisition of land is steadily going on. Of the real-estate transfers noted in the newspapers from week to week, considerably more than half the number, on the average, are to Italians. Most of these properties, of course, are small and cheap; many of them seem, to the casual observer, extremely undesirable locations; but they are constantly improving, a reasonable number are paid for, and they stand for a healthier and more comfortable domestic life.

The best illustration of this determination of the Italian to own land is to be found in the third ward. The Italian colony in this ward seems to have been originally partly an overflow from the crowded ninth ward, and partly a population which settled in this section of the city upon its arrival, drawn, perhaps, by the presence there of relatives or friends. Whatever its inception or original composition, however, the settlement is now both distinct and distinctive. Here, where land was cheap and population scanty, the Italians have in the past decade bought a large number of lots, many of them originally of the roughest and most unpromising appearance, and by incessant labor have literally made the desert blossom as the rose. Few more productive small gardens can be found in Providence or its vicinity than the average of those in this section. Single or double houses are the rule, tenements being rare here as elsewhere; Italian stores have sprung up; and a Roman Catholic church ministers to the religious needs of the people. To be sure, the houses are small

and poor, with untidy surroundings in many cases, and the city has done next to nothing to improve the streets and sidewalks; but most of the properties are owned by their occupants, or are satisfactorily in process of being paid for. As there is still a considerable quantity of unappropriated land in this region, some of it in Pawtucket and North Providence, and street-car facilities are fairly good, a future development of this kind of settlement may apparently be anticipated.

Outside of these two wards, there are no large groups of Italians in Providence; but in various parts of the city, and increasingly in adjacent cities and towns, one finds illustrations of this tendency to buy a small piece of land, grub it into a garden, and establish a home. The fact speaks well for the inherent good fiber of this sturdy race and for the presumptive character of the next generation.

The Italian is conspicuous for his industry. He is never so happy as when he has a job, and he works hard and faithfully at his task. Anyone who compares gangs of Irish and Italian street employees or common laborers at their work will be in no doubt as to the superior industry of the latter. The Italians practice also exceptional frugality, living on less than they earn and spending little on dress or amusements. The savings banks welcome Italian depositors, and there are Italian bankers who care for the money of their countrymen. An increasing proportion of this money is expended or invested in Providence. Considerable sums in the aggregate are still sent to Italy, but most often now to defray the passage expenses of relatives or friends rather than for any other purpose. Few Italians return to Italy once they have become established in this country. Ignorance of English still gives

the Italian stores a profitable field, but the large department stores report a steady increase in Italian custom, and profess to welcome it. Among the immigrants marriage takes place at an early age and families are large, but the second and later generations show the common American tendency to postpone marriage and limit the number of children. Marriages with persons of another race, whether of men or women, are rare. The moral standards of Italian women, even of the lower classes, are singularly high, and young girls are carefully guarded, but of the younger men congregated in cheap boarding-houses a less favorable opinion must be given.

The adoption of American customs and fashions proceeds rapidly, on the whole, among the Italians. The older women and those recently arrived from Italy cling to the neck-scarf, the head-dress, and the bright colors to which they have been accustomed, but these disappear in a few years. The influence of children who have attended the public schools or found employment in stores or mills works steadily against the maintenance of peculiarities in dress, as it does against the use of the Italian language outside of the home. As regards food, one notices still the predominance of bread, macaroni, and vegetables in the ordinary bill-of-fare. Italian women are often good cooks, but the prevalence of bakers' shops indicates that the Italians, like most foreigners, buy their bread and pastry at the store. Large quantities of cheap wine are made for domestic consumption, and dealers report a substantial trade in the cheaper American and European products. Beer is coming into vogue, but distilled liquors are not much used.

The average Italian has not yet learned to keep his

house or his person clean; landlords complain that sanitary conveniences, when provided, are often neglected or abused; and an appreciable percentage of disease, notably typhoid, scarlet fever, and diphtheria, is always lurking in the Italian quarter. As regards law and order, the Italians are not sinners above other races. Excessive drinking on Saturday nights and Sundays is a prevailing vice, and the license laws are often held in scant regard, as are the laws against gambling. The stiletto has not disappeared and is rather frequently used, though rarely upon any but a compatriot and under the influence of jealousy or passion.

Politically the Italians have been most cultivated by the Republicans, and probably most of those who vote support the Republican ticket. Ignorance of American institutions and issues, however, joined to the desire to retain their positions or to earn money, have made them easy victims of coercion and bribery; and the purchasable vote of the city is, or has been, materially recruited from their ranks.

The Portuguese or Bravas, on the lower East Side, are an interesting people. They began coming to Providence many years ago, and have not only maintained themselves but grown steadily in numbers, until they now constitute one of the larger elements in the foreign population of the city. In physical appearance they resemble the negro; the men are especially well built, tall and muscular, while many of the women are attractive. Most of the men find employment as stevedores or longshoremen, some as sailors or teamsters or in occupations calling for unusual strength. The irregular character of their employment, with its special liability to disabling accidents, lowers the average

income and keeps many of them, especially during the winter season, on the verge of want or even actually dependent. Like the negroes from whom they are in part derived, they are far from averse to receiving charitable aid. One must search for them, as a rule, in poor and crowded tenements near the water-front, but their rooms, in noticeable contrast to the homes of Italians and Jews, are likely to be clean and orderly. Until some ten or fifteen years ago, sexual morality among the Bravas was extremely low, and it is not yet high; but there has been gratifying improvement. Families are still depressingly large, however, and desertion by husbands is not unknown. The majority of the women, condemned to domestic drudgery and mingling little with people of other races, do not speak English—a phenomenon noticeable among foreigners in this country as a class. Perhaps because of the irregular occupation of many of the men, the Bravas do not show the thrift of the Italians, nor do they seek employment widely.

There is still a considerable movement back and forth between Providence and the Cape Verde Islands, many going to the islands in the fall, when water freight begins to decrease, and returning in the spring. Most of the Bravas are Roman Catholics, and they have a church of their own; but a Congregational mission has a considerable hold among them, and has become an important center for philanthropic and educational work. The presence of an increasing, though still small, number of individuals who have attained economic independence, and have become Americanized in all respects save color and speech, is a hopeful indication of progress.

Most of the Russian and Polish Jews are massed in the

North End, where the first, second, and third wards join. The majority of them are of the orthodox faith, and speak the Yiddish of the province from which they come; but religion seems to have no strong hold upon them, and an American Yiddish rapidly supplants the dialect spoken by the immigrant. The well-known characteristics which distinguish the Jews the world over appear here, and do not need special enumeration. Like the Italians, the Jews are ambitious to own real estate, though less eager to discharge mortgages or pay debts of any kind; and they have reached out in all directions, particularly north and east, from the center in which they still principally crowd. A large part of the population along North Main Street, and in the cross streets between North Main and Camp, is Jewish, and they have lately acquired a firm foothold among the fine old residences at the north end of Benefit Street. There is undoubtedly a strong social prejudice against them; their advent in a neighborhood almost invariably depreciates the value of real estate, and is followed by the withdrawal of the non-Jewish population.

Industrially, the Jews exhibit a limited range of occupations. Most of the small tailoring establishments in the city, except in the Italian quarter, are carried on by Jews, as are pawnshops and second-hand stores of all sorts. Jewish boarding-houses, restaurants, bakeries, and markets are common in the Jewish quarters, and a large number of newsboys, and some newsdealers, are Jews. The reluctance of insurance companies to write policies on the stock of Jewish merchants and tailors is an interesting commentary on the esteem in which the race is held.

One must guard against the mistake, however, of classing together all the Jews of Providence for either industrial,

business, or social purposes. The Russian and Polish Jews of the North End, so far as the mass of them are concerned, represent a lower element as distinct from the leaders of the race as are the unskilled and ignorant Irish laborers from the Irish professional and business classes. The upper-class Jews, often native born, are largely represented in the business life of the city. In the manufacture of jewelry, as well as in the wholesale and retail jewelry trade, they are extensively engaged. The largest department store in the city is managed by Jews, while the trade in ready-made clothing and men's wearing apparel is largely in their hands.

Socially, the Jew, whatever his wealth, refinement, or status, is gregarious. He has no fondness for the country or for remote situations, but prefers to live in the busy, active, crowded quarters of the city, where he can be near his kind. In the selection and preparation of his meat he is sanitary, but he often seems comparatively indifferent to personal comfort, and among the lower classes is untidy and unclean. The average Jewish market, grocery, or bakery in the North End is filthy and offensive in the extreme, and a standing menace to health; the houses are tumble-down, dirty, and unsanitary; and the back rooms of tailoring establishments are often disgustingly unclean. The Jew acquires the English language readily, but always speaks it with an accent. The young men are often hard and self-sacrificing students, an appreciable representation of Jews being found in Brown University; but the race is not prominently represented in the professions. The well-to-do Jews keep much to themselves in social matters, partly, no doubt, because social prejudice tends to hold them in a class apart; and while they con-

tribute their share to the well-being of the community, the process of assimilation cannot be said as yet to have attained more than moderate extension.

The other foreign elements in Providence are relatively of minor importance, and do not call for extended comment or description. The Germans, as has been said, have slight racial solidarity, enter readily all forms of occupation, and blend easily with the American population. The maintenance either of the German language or of German culture makes no strong appeal to them, and the younger generation is noticeably anxious to be thought American rather than German. They maintain a turn hall and a singing society, however, support a weekly newspaper, and cultivate hearty social intercourse among themselves. A recently organized German Club at Brown University has done something toward bringing together the better educated Germans, and a performance of "Minna von Barnhelm" was given at one of the theaters in February, 1908.

The French Canadians in Providence are mainly factory operatives, though a considerable number are to be found in the building trades. The operatives show in their homes a decided tendency to overcrowding. In comparison with conditions in smaller mill towns, their houses are too often disorderly and unclean, and moral laxity is not strongly reprobated. There is still a small immigration from Canada and some movement to and from other manufacturing centers, the latter generally in direct response to business conditions. The acquisition of homes by purchase makes progress among them, and the area of French occupation is constantly widening, but the predominance of the operative class holds the move-

ment in check. As a race the French Canadians are clannish, holding stubbornly to their language and their religion, and surrendering readily to leadership. Politically, they are divided between the Republican and Democratic parties, with the latter preponderating; and while the purchasable element is at times large, the voters are equally influenced by the nomination of one of their number to office.

A small group of Christian Poles is to be found in the third ward, among the Russian and Polish Jews, but the difference in religion does not seem to induce clashing. The police speak unfavorably of the habits and morals of the Poles, whether Jew or Christian, especially in regard to honesty. The Poles may be taken as representing about the lowest stratum of the foreign population, and their rise in the social scale is slow. The Armenians are principally mill hands, learn English with difficulty, and keep up an unimportant agitation on behalf of their ill-used brethren at home. They are industrious and frugal, and though often found in quarters unsanitary and dirty, are obviously rising in the social scale. English-speaking neighbors, however, seem inclined to pronounce then untrustworthy and lawless—a charge which the police records only partially confirm. The handful of Greeks have wrested the shoe-polishing business from the Italians, and seem to draw their living mainly from that source. Most of them are boys, or men without families, and their standard of living is low; in thrift and saving, however, they rival the Italians.

The two or three groups of negroes, most of them mulattoes, appear to have remained for some years practically at a standstill in numbers, the loss in one group being

represented by gain in another. With few exceptions, their houses are poor and unsightly, with ill-kept surroundings, but with a fair degree of interior comfort. A few small stores, kept by negroes, serve local needs. Few of the men appear to have steady employment, most of them working at gardening and odd jobs. Scarcely any are to be found in skilled trades or positions of responsibility, or would be welcome if they applied. Negro waiters, servants, nurses, and coachmen have been largely supplanted by whites, although janitors, messengers, and barbers' helpers can still find employment. Most of the women who work turn to laundering and house-cleaning, a few finding places in office buildings. For no race is the outlook so unpromising; with none does ignorant inattention to assigned tasks and apparent lack of responsibility so closely accompany a steady restriction of the opportunity to earn a living.

Beyond question, the foreign complexion of Providence is yearly becoming more marked. At the present rate of growth, the time is not far distant when a majority of the population will be foreign born, while a large proportion of the remainder will be of foreign-born parentage. Thus far the growth of the foreign-born element has been kept in check by the moderate proportions of the annual immigration, while the political control is kept in native hands by the constitutional requirement of a tax payment as a prerequisite to voting in municipal affairs. It is to these conditions, joined to the unifying influence of a common language, common government, and common economic opportunity, that Providence owes such homogeneity as its population still possesses.

IV

INDUSTRY

BY

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INDUSTRY

Some cities trace their origin and growth to the presence of extensive natural resources. New Bedford, for example, in the early nineteenth century was known as the Oil City. Then it converted its harpoons into spindles and took a prominent place in the manufacture of cotton goods. Now the Oil City is in Pennsylvania, where nature does not compel a chase of the whale. Many other cities owe their vast importance to the near-by mines of coal and metals, or deposits of petroleum. Pittsburgh, especially, embedded in coal and iron, and supplied with natural gas, has lifted its blazing chimneys high above the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers, looking forward to the time when she may furnish the world with steel. Wherever coal is abundant, manufacturing cities will spring up and flourish, whether in Germany, France, England, or the United States. In addition to natural advantages, there are other physical causes for the growth of cities. New York, with a magnificent harbor, overcame the handicap which geologic forces had imposed, and by means of the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers with the Erie Canal flanked the Allegheny barriers, reached the enormous flow of the Lakes, and became the most important gateway to and from the American continent. Chicago, the center of railways in the United States, passes through its cells more grain, meat, and lumber than any market in the world. Rich in the navigation of the Lakes, it stretches out toward the Atlantic with one hand and toward the Mississippi gulf with the other; and it may yet rival New York as a distributing

center. Philadelphia, strong in agricultural and mineral resources is second only to New York in its manufacturing industries. Abundant water power, supplied by convenient streams, especially in the early days, is almost wholly responsible for many other manufacturing centers, such as Rochester, Minneapolis, and the towns on the Connecticut River. Lowell and Lawrence likewise dammed the Merrimac to drive spindles and looms in the production of millions of yards of cloth. But the advantage of water-power locations has been greatly lessened by the almost universal introduction of steam power in the mills and factories of Providence, Fall River, and other manufacturing communities.

An agricultural hamlet in drowsy rest for nearly three quarters of a century, Providence held the head-waters of the Narragansett, one of the finest inland waters in the world, while Rhode Island, the modern Newport, was forging ahead and creating one of the foremost colonial ports. That enlightened antiquary, Henry C. Dorr, has shown that the community, while very liberal religiously and politically, made the hamlet a very poor place for a stranger who would get a living. Commerce is essentially change, and agriculture abhors change whenever land is in question. Commerce, moreover, when once started and in full action, would readily make its own market and possess the land; but while sleepy burghers held the water-front of the "Town Street," the gasping trader was like a fish on the strand, neither breathing nor swimming. Sites and convenient locations, as well as the sympathetic energy which stimulates enterprise, are necessary conditions of a trading world.

Something, though not much, was done in the early

fisheries. Whales were caught in Narragansett Bay in the first part of the eighteenth century; and later the citizens of Providence participated in this important pursuit, so distinctly American, on the broad ocean. With the introduction of spermaceti or head-matter came the manufacture of candles, the most profitable adjunct of whaling and the oil trades. James Brown appears as "distiller" in his purchase of the future Commodore Esek Hopkins' share of the "Charming Molly" in 1746. In 1758 Obadiah Brown sold to his nephews, Nicholas and John, one-half of the spermaceti works, with the moiety of the same staunch sloop. The British minister, Grenville, perhaps unwittingly helped the whale-fishery in America when he abolished the bounties paid to British fishermen and relieved their American competitors almost entirely of discriminating duty.

Thus encouraged, Warren entered the business in 1766 following Providence, while Newport renewed her interests in this field. Obadiah Brown in 1753 built a factory at India Point, in Providence, for the manufacture of sperm candles, and succeeded so well that he worked up three hundred barrels of head-matter the first year. Early traffic struck out in coastwise commerce to Philadelphia and New York, to Albany and Virginia. Long Island Sound and the mighty Hudson were essential factors in the fiscal and social interchange of those days. While interior land travel was in semi-barbaric condition and the ocean threatened small craft, an estuary flow of great waters powerfully assisted feeble communities in their outward progress.

Closely associated with domestic trade was foreign commerce to the West Indies, the great mart for surplus production of the New England colonies. "English"

goods were at first supplied from Rhode Island, the largest port on Narragansett Bay, and lumber, a "principal money," brought down the Blackstone, Moshassuck, and Woonasquatucket rivers, was the chief remittance there. A little later Providence began to take advantage of this opportunity to develop her commerce. Pardon Tillinghast may be considered the father of the local commerce, for he built the first wharf and warehouse in 1679. Nathaniel Brown opened the first yard for shipbuilding on the "West Side" in 1711, and vessels built by him were among the first to sail from Providence to the West Indies. Property along the water-front called "warehouse-lots" with its shore privileges was not completely divided and assigned until about 1749.

In the beginning "home-lots" had been given settlers. These ribbon strips fronted on a "Town Street," controlling the Woonasquatucket shore. A "stated common," outside and chiefly across the Providence River, was shared among the proprietors. Weybosset Bridge with a draw spanning this river was rebuilt by a lottery in 1719. The main current of travel between Boston and New York crossed here, and the village maintained a mill with three taverns.

In 1742, Stephen Hopkins, at the age of thirty-five, came into the city, from his home in the country. A Newporter has said that "Hopkins taught Providence her capabilities, and calculated, rather than prophesied, her future growth and prosperity." His brother, Esek, seafaring to the West Indies, became the first commodore in the United States Navy. Several members of the family were shipmasters and by their skill and enterprise assisted the Browns in their various voyages.

James Brown and his brother Obadiah, descended from Chad Brown, a companion of Roger Williams and an early pastor of the First Baptist Church, were among the first merchants to obtain a record. Their operations are reported as early as 1733. According to Moses Brown, our best early authority, they had four sloops trading to the West Indies in 1736, Obadiah being the captain of one. At the death of James, who had likewise been a captain, the uncle took his sons, the famous "four brothers," Nicholas, Joseph, John, and Moses, as apprentices and partners.

To show the complicated trade of these early voyages, we may glance at the lading of the sloop "Recruit" which sailed from Rhode Island in 1744. She carried bread, flour, Indian corn, sugar, molasses, salt, rum, tar, and pipe-staves. This cargo, although apparently strangely heterogeneous at first glance, was nicely assorted for the purposes of the voyage. The rum was made at home, the sugar and molasses came from the West Indies, flour from New York, corn and pipe-staves from Narragansett, and tar from North Carolina. The "Recruit" went first to Newfoundland, where she exchanged her provisions, tar, etc. for "refuse" fish from the fishing fleet. The slaves in the islands ate the inferior grades, while the better ones were reserved for the Catholics in Southern Europe. The first southern port was Barbadoes, then stops were made in succession at Surinam, Nevis, St. Christopher's, St. Eustatius, Kingston, Jamaica, and Savannah-la-mer, thence home to Rhode Island, with the molasses and other products which the cargo and profits of the voyage returned.

Meanwhile a generation was engaged in gallant fore-

casting enterprise, illegal where it should have had legitimate welcome, and always tending toward larger independence instead of loyal obedience on the part of the colonists. David A. Wells has said that one quarter of all the signers of the Declaration of Independence were bred to the commerce or the command of vessels engaged in contraband trade. Sugar, molasses, and rum, must be obtained, the last almost a necessity in that period of New England, for it was as commonly used as tea and coffee in our day, and in addition was the fundamental staple of the slave-trade. Providence did little directly in importing blacks, but the neighboring port of Rhode Island was largely engaged in the trade. Governor Hopkins stated that for more than thirty years prior to 1764, Rhode Island sent to the west coast of Africa annually eighteen vessels carrying 1,800 hogsheads of rum. It displaced French brandies in the trade of the coast after 1723. The commerce in rum and slaves afforded about £40,000 for remittance from Rhode Island to Great Britain. Molasses and poor sugar, distilled into rum in Boston, and more especially in Newport, made the staple export to Africa. Newport had twenty-two still-houses. The average price of molasses in the West Indies was 13*d.* or 14*d.* per gallon. Although the demand for rum to be sent to Africa was immense, the consumption of rum in the fisheries and lumbering and shipbuilding districts was large.

Development of the town was quickened and much extended in 1751, when a vessel loaded with timber floated down the Seekonk River. Colonel Edward Kinnicutt took this first cargo to London and brought back enough goods to furnish three shops, kept by himself, Brown, and

Jenks. Prior to this time the "English" goods necessary in a retailing shop had been supplied from the port of Rhode Island. In the same year, Captain Esek Hopkins brought in a valuable prize, the snow "Desire." This began the privateering which was carried on during the French and Spanish wars. In one cruise Abraham Whipple of Rhode Island in 1759–60 captured twenty-three prizes valued at $1,000,000 in paper money. In a land where money was scarce and the people brave and venturesome such sudden acquisition of riches, though the prizes might be few in number, drew the bold and resolute spirits to the flag of the privateers. Notwithstanding the profits of plunder, Newport lost more commercially than she gained by the "old French war," and according to Moses Brown, privateering in Providence made "many rich and some poor." The occupation of Newport by the British in the Revolution destroyed its commerce and ruined its commercial prestige. Providence then became the chief port of the state and the privateering of the Revolution centered there. The canny Quaker, Moses Brown, correctly estimated the business which was both speculative and risky; but it stimulated commercial enterprise, while training bold and hardy seamen.

The co-operative methods of early commerce are interesting. It will be remembered that whaling was prosecuted on proportionate shares, a long or short "lay." A similar principle was enforced in the West Indies trade, not in the form of partnership, but in separate individual interests or privileges. An old portage bill, October 1–November 28, 1763, shows that the brigantine "Sally," Nicholas Brown & Co., owners, signed articles with officers and crew on the following terms. The master had £35

wages and a "privilege" of twelve hogsheads. The mate, in blank, must have had a private contract. The cooper, with an office and responsibility approaching that of the captain, had £70 with three hogsheads, and five barrels. Common sailors had £35 to £50 with a privilege of three barrels to some. The "share" in this transaction only pertained to freight, giving the sailors an opportunity to trade with their own capital. Three years later, Esek Hopkins took the brig "Sally" to the Windward Islands, laden with hoops, staves, sperm candles, beeswax, oil, beef and pork, ship bread, tar, turpentine, flour, and rice. Of the hoops 25 per cent. and of the oil 10 per cent. belonged to Captain Hopkins, while the remainder of the cargo was owned by Nicholas Brown & Co.[1]

All this outward movement manifested itself in various domestic changes in the sixties. Market Square had been opened some years earlier at the Bridge, and it was occupied by a market house in 1775. The community crossed the river in 1763 to lay out Westminster Street, now the main artery of municipal life, but in 1771 only five houses

[1] Do not imagine that the simple eighteenth century, destitute though it might be of steam rails, electric machinery, stock-tickers and curb-brokers, did not comprehend or apply any of the possibilities of modern civilization. Rockefeller and Carnegie were unborn, but sharp calculators with long heads existed even in those days. What says the reader to a full-fledged trust in oil? In 1763, a solid agreement made all "head-matter brought into North America one common Stock or Dividend." It was divided among ten manufacturers, Nicholas Brown & Co. getting twenty barrels in each one hundred, Robinson, of Nantucket, thirteen, Palmer fourteen, "the Philadelphians" seven, etc. The Jews of Newport were among the contractors. If any forfeited their share "by such dishonorable conduct," minutely specified, it was to be divided *pro rata*. They agreed to pay only ten pounds sterling per ton for head-matter above the price of "body brown sperm oil" to be fixed by merchants of Boston according to the London market. They frowned on more spermaceti works "because present are more than sufficient." The arrangement was renewed from year to year until 1769.

were built there. Highways into the country were opened or improved. In 1763 Hacker & Lindsey had two boats going twice a week to Newport. The first regular line of stage coaches once a week to Boston was established in 1767.

The imperfect money of the period, however, impeded economic development. The colony, poor in resources, had strained itself in the French and Spanish wars. Then it lacked the sagacious lead of a Hutchinson, who forced the province of Massachusetts to redeem its paper issues with the gold sent from England. Rhode Island kept on printing "banks" of paper which floated at various discounts, and clogged the ways of trade.

Daniel Jenckes, the first recorded bookseller, began business in 1763, or about that date. Almanacs were an important educational influence in the days of meager literature. This year also saw the publication of those compiled by Benjamin West, a resident who received the degree of LL.D. from Brown University in 1792, when the almanacs were still being issued. They were printed by John Carter at the sign of the Shakespeare's Head. In 1764, Captain John Waterman established the second printing business. He founded the Rising Sun paper mill at Rutenberg, a hamlet about two miles west on the Woonasquatucket. The excellent "cartridge" paper, made there from corn husks, kept its place in the market until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the present writer filed documents and covered books with this solid survival of the early manufactures. In 1770, Brown University was taken from Warren and finally located at Providence, Newport competing in vain for the advantage. The ascendency of Providence over its more wealthy

and cultured rival was largely due to the generous enterprise of the four Brown brothers.

The advance of the community, its breadth and growth in the knowledge of the day is best illustrated by the accurate observations of the Transit of Venus in 1769. The merchant and philosopher, Joseph Brown, imported a complete set of the best instruments from London. Assisted by his brother Moses, Governor Hopkins, Dr. Benjamin West, and others, he observed the phenomenon, established latitude and longitude very near the later results of the U. S. Coast Survey, and gave a name to Transit Street where the observatory was located.

But the little island across the seas now disturbed the town far more than any movements in the starry hosts. The taxing acts of Parliament had occasioned agreements in the colonies for the non-importation of British goods, and to these the merchants of Providence had subscribed. A cargo, brought in violation of the agreements, was surrendered by its importers to a committee, awaiting the repeal of the obnoxious legislation. Opinion being divided on the general matter of non-importation, the colonies finally resolved to resist the importation of tea only.

Commercial Providence in 1772 was to undertake an enterprise both daring in conception and portentous in actual results, which, in political consequence, might have exceeded any colonial act of the time. The Boston Tea Party occurred about two years later, and it merely destroyed the cargo of a merchantman. In this case the organized power of England was directly assailed by an open attack on the British schooner "Gaspee" armed with eight guns. This cruiser with others had provoked the commerce in Narragansett Bay by inspection of vessels and

attempts to enforce the revenue acts. In chasing a vessel below the town, she ran upon Namcut Point off Warwick in the afternoon and was stranded there. The escaped culprits informed the town and John Brown speedily fitted out eight longboats with muffled oars and volunteer crews. Abraham Whipple, one of many famous privateer captains, who was to fire the first American broadside into His Majesty's Navy three years later, commanded this expedition of outlaws. They summoned Lieutenant Dudingston, severely wounded him, and burned his vessel. They seized officer and crew, discharging them in a few days after assumed legal proceedings. Our rebels always had law in plenty, by way of diversion. In the calm words of Arnold nearly a century after, "it was the first bold blow in all the colonies for freedom, and the earliest blood shed in the war of independence. It was the beginning of the end."

The leading men of the community, though not in the longboats, were generally implicated in the better part of this patriotic exploit, which might have come down to history differently designated. Large rewards were offered by the authorities for evidence against the promoters and offenders. The facts were well-known and transparent; but not a man was found to testify against his fellow-citizens or the merchants who deliberately attacked the imperial power of Great Britain.

Afterward our old friend Whipple received positive notice of the inhospitable frame of mind of His Majesty's Navy in the words of the admiral, "You burned His Majesty's vessel, the 'Gaspee,' and I will hang you at the yardarm." With characteristic Yankee directness Abraham Whipple replied, "To Sir James Wallace: Sir, Always catch a man before you hang him."

Early in 1776, the first American squadron sailed from Delaware Bay under Commodore Esek Hopkins, brother of Congressman Stephen, a brave and brilliant sailor developed in the West Indian traffic and the privateering of his own Providence. Of thirteen frigates ordered by Congress, two were launched here, the "Warren," 32 guns, and the "Providence," 28 guns. In April came Washington with a large staff of general officers. As the army was moving slowly toward New York, these officers were brilliantly entertained by the society of Providence.

Commerce must now avoid the stricken precincts of Newport, seeking the headwaters of Narragansett Bay. Privateers brought in rich prizes and made a busy center of exchange. Transportation by teams to Boston, on the largest scale possible, made one outlet for trade. Business was very profitable though conducted at great risk, for there was ever present a danger, not only of seizure, but of changing values and depreciating currencies as well. Although the enemy might never be present in Providence, his power threatened all industrial operations and proved a constant menace to trade. Nicholas Brown, for example, informed the assessors, May, 1777, that the business of his sugar house was prosecuted at a great disadvantage, labor and fuel costing three times as much as in "peace times." The stock of merchandise could not be kept in hand, but must be carried to the country at high rates, then brought back as occasion required.

The year 1779 lifted the heavy hand of official England from the bay, for the island of Rhode Island was evacuated by British troops. More than half the population had been driven out and commerce had deserted useless wharves. The skilled and prosperous Jews, harbingers of

commercial advance or decline, had fled, never to return. Aaron and Moses Lopez, once owning twenty-seven square-rigged vessels, came to Providence, but did not remain. Metcalf Bowler, an eminent merchant, speaker of the House and a promoter of the Revolution, came here after the peace and died keeping a boarding-house—a typical case.

Peace with England, moreover, did not bring quiet to commercial Providence or to the political organization controlling it. Torn by dissensions, the little state was about to try some of the worst experiments ever known in the art of government. Paper money had been an old delusion, but its advocates gained new strength and brought in a large majority of the General Assembly in 1786, after a fierce campaign. A "bank," so called, of £100,000 was issued in notes to be loaned to tax-payers on the basis of their assessed property. Providence, Newport, Bristol, Westerly resisted in vain, and the agricultural towns carried the day. Town and country had opposed each other before the war, and now the feud was renewed, becoming more forcible than ever. Just as the petty farming interests of early Providence held back the developing commerce of the community while Newport was shooting ahead, so the farms of the state fettered and almost destroyed the progress of the new era. State rights run mad produced a curious fantasy called "state trade," which was seriously proposed and canvassed for in county conventions. As always in such agrarian disputes, the intelligence of merchants was held to be a crime, and whenever specie for the exchanges went abroad, they were charged with menacing and damaging the common weal. In the new order of things, the state, through a committee,

was to import goods on its own account. Produce, lumber, and labor, were to be received for taxes and exported to obtain goods and specie. Forcing acts did eventually try to compel the circulation of paper money. John Weeden refused to give meat for paper at par, and Trevett sued him. This was a historic case of first importance, for it produced the mighty constitutional argument for the defense by Varnum. The Court decided in favor of Weeden, and party feeling ran so strong that the Assembly mooted impeachment of the judges. Fortunately, such folly did not prevail, although the agitations of this period carried the state to the verge of anarchy and dismemberment. The principles underlying the passion for state rights impelled the commonwealth to agitate a weak confederation and to oppose the incoming national Union. Final opposition to the Constitution was overcome by a narrow majority on May 29, 1790.

One of the most forcible causes of this local disturbance and erratic movement was the wretched management and delinquencies of the revolutionary and confederate governments. The little state had made great sacrifices in men and money, and enormous sums were due her, which the United States never paid. Consequently, prosperity was slow in returning to a community so oppressed without and harassed within.

But nothing could wholly restrain this impetuous and enterprising people. The population of the town had increased to 6,380. A rolling and slitting mill was established to prepare iron for nails, an absolutely necessary manufacture which Great Britain had prohibited. The Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers was incorporated. The River Machine Co. was formed to collect

tolls and to clear the harbor. Excluding river craft, the number of ships belonging to the port was 110 of 10,590 tons burden.

American commerce was steadily advancing. The oldest world was opening to New Englanders in the trade of India and China. The enterprise and capacity developed in privateering were to be exerted in this larger and more beneficent field of operations. The modern instruments and appliances for regulating a ship's course were then unknown or only beginning to be used. After 1800, a youth of nineteen sailed a ship from Boston to Calcutta, with no chart whatever except a small map of the world in Guthrie's geography. Wants produced new wants, and commerce with Europe was further stimulated by these new demands about the turn of the century. The China trade, initiated by John Brown, was continued by Brown and Ives and others with great energy. For six months before a ship bound for Canton left her American port, a small fleet of brigs and schooners was sailing about getting her cargo ready. They must have iron, hemp, duck from Sweden and St. Petersburg, wine and lead from France, Spain, and Madeira, rum and sugar from the West Indies. Into these exchanges went fish, flour, and provisions, iron and tobacco, partly from New York, Philadelphia, and Virginia. Important items in the outfit were ginseng and specie. The first ships brought back tea largely and the market was soon overstocked. Coffee then became a better source of revenue, and with tea, muslins, silks, etc., was distributed to Atlantic ports. The customary profits on muslins from Calcutta was 100 per cent. A recorded transaction in plain glass tumblers brought in $12,000 for an outlay of $1,000. In the last

decade of the eighteenth century, very profitable transactions in furs were begun with the Indians of the northwest coast of America. The furs were carried across to Canton, where they were in great demand and exchanged for the products of China.

Commerce with the East was thenceforth to influence the whole growth of the town. Although the wealth derived therefrom became a great factor in future industrial development, even more important was the personal element involved. The captains and officers who were sent out to conduct these undertakings, though they might have been contending with modern weapons, were liberal successors of the earlier sea-kings. These mariners might lack the intense individual power of the privateersmen like Esek Hopkins or Abraham Whipple, but they were cast in a larger mold and exerted greater social force. As the crafts were some eight times larger than the West Indian cruiser, so the office was greater. A man who could control a crew for two years or more, husband a vessel, and barter cargo after cargo, according to locality, was a master of whom any community might well be proud. This citizen of the world became a citizen at home in his mature years, and contributed his share to social and industrial progress.

During the eighteenth century, as we have seen, Providence, the center of the little colony did not grow as rapidly commercially as its neighbor Newport, with better facilities for the oversea trade with the East Indies, China, and the western coast of Africa. Eventually, however, Providence emerged as an important seaport town and for many years thereafter derived its wealth mainly from foreign commerce. But the foundation of a permanent commerce must rest on quick communication. Cheap efficient inland

THE UPPER HARBOR

A PART OF THE LOWER HARBOR

PROVIDENCE HARBOR

transportation is just as necessary to the growth of a seaport as a deep accessible harbor. Thus the extensive inland water-communication opened up by New York, combined with a magnificent harbor enabled that city to retain every advantage she acquired. Providence, on the other hand, has felt seriously handicapped in this respect. In colonial times, before inland towns and cities had grown up to any large extent, the harbor of Narragansett Bay met the requirements of foreign commerce. As soon as trade with the interior became more important, the one thing needed was the cheapest transportation to tide-water. With the growth in size of freighters in the coastwise and trans-Atlantic trade, commerce at this port met an unconquerable difficulty, for no stream flowing into Narragansett Bay is navigable for any distance from its mouth. Consequently, as the facilities for handling the larger vessels grew relatively smaller, Providence began to decline as a prominent seaport. Deep-sea commerce dwindled while coastwise lines from Albany to Baltimore brought in raw materials and food, until the last Indiaman reported to General Carrington in 1841. Steamers were now displacing canvas on the water, and in the fourth decade a similar force urged the iron horse across the land to Boston and to Stonington, connecting with New York. Worcester was opened next, with Hartford following in 1854. Commerce with the old world, so important in the eighteenth century, dwindled away in slender streams, while exchanges with the teeming West exceeded in wealth all previous expectations.

An enterprise well conceived, but too long deferred and wrongly undertaken, was crowned with success when the boat "Lady Carrington" passed through the Blackstone

Canal, connecting Providence with Worcester in 1828. The ever-ready John Brown had initiated this in 1790, intending to subscribe $40,000, but Massachusetts, strangely illiberal, refused a charter, and the project went over to 1823. Then $400,000 was desired from Providence, and $100,000 from Worcester, resulting in offerings of twice as much in three hours. Navigation continued until about 1840, carrying twelve freight boats and one for passengers. Disputes with those controlling the water power in petty privileges for mills, impeded the slack-water navigation and ultimately stopped it. If the canal had opened three decades earlier, it would have controlled the virgin water power, and could have made it quite as available for mills without hindering navigation. Development of interior New England would have been anticipated by nearly half a century, with very great industrial possibilities for Providence.

While Providence was thus putting forth the greatest efforts to extend its commerce to the far East, it was also preparing for the most momentous change in the economic life of Rhode Island. Massachusetts and Philadelphia had experimented in the manufacture both of cotton and of wool. Carding and spinning by hand had been household work in the colonies. Daniel Anthony, with others, made from Massachusetts models a card, a jenny, and a spinning-frame, which were operated in the upper market-house in Providence. Alexander, a Scotchman, had started there the first American loom to use the fly shuttle. John Fullem had run a stocking loom in the town. These crude efforts soon ceased, however, and Anthony's machinery was afterward carried to Pawtucket and discarded.

Samuel Slater, just from his apprenticeship with Strutt

and Arkwright, arrived in New York, intending to go to Philadelphia; but the stronger industrial currents drew him to Rhode Island. Captain Curry, one of the sea-kings above mentioned, placed him in communication with Moses Brown, who had not participated to any extent since 1773 in the business begun by Obadiah and the four brothers. Inheriting the property of his uncle and father-in-law Obadiah, he was the cultured merchant of his time. With characteristic pluck and sagacity he wrote Slater, "if thou canst do what thou sayst, come to Rhode Island that I may have the credit and advantage of introducing cotton-spinning." In 1790, he placed his son-in-law and son in the firm of Almy, Brown & Slater, locating them at Pawtucket, where the water power was sufficient. After about a year some 6,000 lbs. of yarn had accumulated, outrunning the demand, and the first panic in the American market for cotton occurred. Moses said, "If thee goes on, thee will spin up all our farms." The wages paid the apprentices ranged from eighty cents to $1.30 or $1.40 per week. Salem was the first market, then Hartford, but Philadelphia finally became the chief center of the trade.

An atmosphere of mechanics prevailed among the descendants and neighbors of Roger Williams and Stephen Hopkins. The individual artisans, if not always discoverers of new principles, were wonderful manipulators of tools and machinery. One Brown invented the slide-lathe at Pawtucket. The Wilkinsons, into whose family Slater afterward married, rendered every assistance in building and working out the new machinery. Slater had the ideas and certain drawings of Arkwright's machines, but was not an engineer himself. Congestion of

population did not bother those times, for Slater had to induce operatives to come to Pawtucket; and when he built larger mills, they were located on the northern border of the state, in order to secure, in addition to power, the "help" of the neighborhood. Cotton manufacturing, and to a less degree woolen, increased rapidly considering the means at its disposal. In the first decades mills crept up the Blackstone and Pawtuxet, with some departure into the South County, carrying industrial processes and prosperity into the farming communities. The nimble and deft fingers of Indian peasants were to be surpassed by the quick intelligence of Rhode Island, using the forces of nature harnessed to myriad human inventions. Capital, created in the East by the skill of merchants and the enterprise of bold seamen, was to be poured into the growing villages of the little state.

Considerable progress in organizing the manufacture of cotton was made in the mid-century. The great rivers of New England had afforded ample power, and the capitalists of Boston secured from Rhode Island David Whitman, and later Amos D. Lockwood, to direct some of these enterprises. Now larger resources of power both auxiliary and independent, were called in. The Sickles cut-off, improved by Corliss, immensely reduced cost of steam in the high-pressure engine. Charles T. James, a spinner, of Rhode Island, with the capabilities of a modern promoter, skilfully organized great mills in other sections as well as at home. The resulting wealth from these activities helped to establish incidental industries in Providence. According to the census of 1900, within a thirty-mile radius of Providence is the largest textile manufacturing center in the country; for example, there were

over seven million spindles in the cotton mills included within that district. The following table shows for the cotton and woolen industries in Providence the number of establishments, the total capital, and the value of the product for 1905:[1]

Industry	Establishments	Total Capital	Value of Product
Cotton goods	8	$ 1,446,974	$ 1,025,264
Cotton small wares	9	1,860,156	1,967,298
Woolen goods	3	2,843,766	2,080,658
Worsted goods	12	17,125,130	21,020,892
Dyeing and finishing textiles	6	3,994,203	2,254,074

The manufacture of modern plated jewelry began in 1794 when Nehemiah Dodge rolled gold upon a sheet of copper. About the same time block printing on India calicoes and cottons was begun in Providence. It will readily be seen that the subsequent growth in manufactures, whether of textiles, gold or silver, or any other industry, must induce incidental changes. Machinery, tools, and appliances of all sorts must be made and constantly renewed to nourish these new forms of industry, and the urban center supplied these important forces to rural establishments.

Luxury was now becoming necessary on an expanding scale, for not only jewelry and silverware, but other arts, were growing in relative importance to the change from homespun to manufactured fabrics. In 1831 Jabez Gorham could carry his gold and silver wares in a small trunk to Boston and assemble all the competing tradesmen to his humble semi-annual "openings." His fellow-tradesmen peddled on horseback, or took a vessel for

[1] *United States Census of Manufactures, Rhode Island,* Bulletin 36, 1906.

New Orleans. With the coming of railways, such wares went to jobbers through the middle West and the Mississippi Valley. As the mid-century came on, personal adornment in rings and trinkets and personal convenience in spoons and forks had enlarged into the use of plate and many contrivances for beautifying households. Today Rhode Island leads her sister states not only in proportion to size, but absolutely as a jewelry center; and Providence is the largest jewelry manufacturing city in the country, notwithstanding the fact that Newark, practically a suburb of New York, situated between two great cities with every advantage of cheap living, started early and vigorously to manufacture fine jewelry, and her mechanics had the first claim upon the near-by market.

In the early years of this fruitful century our inheritors of West Indian and China commerce, with the children of adventurers who had manned the privateers, sought any fall of water, using their scanty resources to dam for reservoirs and to build mills for Slater's spindles and the new power looms. Costly steam power frequently reinforced an irregular supply of water, but there was comparatively little used willingly until after the great improvement in the high-pressure engine about 1848. In the pioneer days, falling water was nature's great aid to the incoming manufactures; and it had to be used in small doses. There was not organized capital enough to control the Merrimac, Chicopee, or Cohoes. Lowell was not even made a town until 1826. Later, hardly a sizable stream in the mainland ran its natural course unvexed by busy machinery. Here was readily created the best organized application of nature's resources to the manufacturers of textiles. Villages sometimes, hamlets always, clustered

around these enterprising centers. Overseers of rooms or superintendents of companies were in demand, but there was little chance for the artisans we call mechanics. One or two of these latter looked after the repairs of the mill, mastering the water-wheel and its murky pit; while there was some opportunity for a clerk in the factory store. Many an incipient Stephen Hopkins was bred in this atmosphere of power learning to watch a lathe and drive a file. A bright, aggressive lad, not a David Wilkinson or Cullen Whipple, perhaps, but an active associate in the art of subjecting nature to the mind of man, emigrated to Providence where 99 per cent. of the jewelry of Rhode Island is now made. With the blow-pipe and a bit of charcoal he could reduce the toughest metals to his will; and Corliss' engine soon completely relieved his weary hand and foot.

We may thus follow the gold-worker from his work in the cotton mill and machine shop to his seat with the blow-pipe, surrounded by Corliss belts. Let us glance at his fellow-worker who manipulated the white metal. We use the past tense, for at present the silver industry has largely relieved the hand from the toil of art. Shoe-buckles in the eighteenth, spoons in the nineteenth century, had afforded most work for the silversmith. Gorham and Webster, the pioneers for the present establishment, which is considered the largest and certainly the most complete in the world, began to hammer out spoons in 1831. In the words of the Gorham Manufacturing Co., "we differ from foreign establishments in one very important respect. We do nearly everything necessary for our own production, while foreign establishments give out to specialists, either designers, chasers, tool-makers, or die-cutters; and we also

manufacture all our cases and boxes." In the mid-century spoons were as useful as ever, but the citizens called more persistently for silver plate and numerous aesthetic furnishings to adorn their dwellings. Now this corporation makes myriad articles from the tiniest salt spoons to statues of Columbus in pure silver. Equestrian statues in bronze are readily made. More than 2,000 operatives are employed, and, to 1904, the company had paid over $20,000,000 in wages and had used more than 31,000,000 ounces of silver. This is a fair specimen of American organization—the extended elephant's trunk moving masses or daintily picking up a pin.

In the city there are ten establishments manufacturing silver, and the industry ranks eighth in the state. The output of these workmen in silver exceeds that of any state in the country with the one exception of Rhode Island. Contingent to the working of gold and silver, is the refining of the sweepings which were formerly thrown away in the jewelry shops. In 1850, an ingenious man conceived that treasure-trove was literally underfoot, and he began to refine the sweepings. Today some ten establishments produce over four million dollars annually. The following table shows the importance of the jewelry industry and its several branches in Providence.

Industry	Establishments	Total Capital	Value of Product
Electro-plating	8	$ 21,938	$ 61,055
Enameling and enameled goods	11	192,635	338,392
Engraving and die-sinking	23	80,254	164,925
Gold and silver reducing and refining, not from the ore	10	598,738	4,260,698
Jewelry	193	11,111,233	14,317,050
Silversmithing and silverware	10	8,582,489	5,323,264

Thus, if electro-plating, gilding, enameling, engraving, and die-sinking, etc., are included, the jewelry interests are carried on in 255 establishments with a total product, according to the census of 1905, valued at $24,465,384, or about 27 per cent. of the total value of all products manufactured in Providence. There are local industries not very large in relative output, but important and "exceptionally prominent in their particular field; and of these the manufacture of wood screws, haircloth, and files deserve special mention." We might add the fine instruments, especially those to correct the makers of instruments, made by Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Co., and not excelled in quality anywhere in the world. This concern employs some 3,500 operatives, and in thorough organization is similar to the Gorham Manufacturing Co.[1]

Our old-time genius, David Wilkinson, patented the first American wood-screw in 1798. About half a century later, Cullen Whipple invented many devices for saving labor in this delicate manufacture, chief of which was a cam, controlling the thread-cutting tool and tapering its work. A gimlet-pointed screw was the result. A slot was cut across the head, while all sorts of mechanical contrivances *manipulated* the little thing, as we say, though the hand has been almost expelled from the work. Two companies were consolidated into the American Screw Co., and then William C. Angell determined to purchase and organize others into one monopoly. This enterprise succeeded, for it combined inventive capacity, organizing thrift, and opportunity in one industrial movement.

[1] In 1905 there were 71 establishments in Providence engaged in the manufacture of foundry and machine shop products, with a total capital of $18,777,425. The value of the output was $9,358,687.

File-cutting grew into a large industry. The invention of seamless wire gave the jewelers greater control over their raw material. Copper or brass wire was drawn and covered by a better metal in one operation.

Further progress in the association of industry with intelligence is indicated by the establishment of the *Providence Journal* in 1829. After William Goddard's vigorous editorial work in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the editorial quality of newspapers had deteriorated. Instead of trained professional writers, men broken in other pursuits occupied the columns. The *Journal* established a better newspaper, and the *Republican Herald*, *Evening Press and Tribune*, with others followed.

Street railways in 1865, adding the electric trolley in the nineties, stimulated both city and suburbs. Slums within were lessened, and better locations without were secured for the average householder. The fifty-million mark in the annual passenger list has long since been passed; in 1905, for example, 68.6 million passengers were carried, and travel increases even faster than facilities are provided.

The *Twelfth Census* says that

> Rhode Island is advancing quite as rapidly as other states. The factors that have contributed to the growth are limited. It must be attributed to the early and successful establishment of the factory system, particularly in the cotton-manufacture; to the natural tendency of one industry to stimulate the introduction of other industries; to the abundance of capital; and to the enterprise and skill of the citizens. Rhode Island possesses no natural resources which have materially aided in its development. . . . . The coal and raw material for the factories are transported long distances, and this fact renders notable the pre-eminence of the state in certain of the finer products of iron and steel, such as textile and other mill machinery, tools, screws, etc.

The census interpreter was both right and wrong when he stated that the state had no material "natural resources." There was no fountain of ready-made force, nor mines of mineral wealth as at Pittsburgh; but there were opportunities to utilize water power to nourish and develop cotton-spinning through its infancy, until steam fuel could be obtained from Pennsylvania and Virginia. Little as the early advantage was, it was enough to breed the skilled worker in gold and silver, who has been unsurpassed throughout a century. Rhode Island manufacturers are now buying shafting and pulleys from Pittsburgh, while the lack of free coal from Nova Scotia and of free iron ore from Cuba, to combine with and enrich our native ore and coal, has prevented the natural increase of heavy iron and steel products.

Out of this significant past there will come an amplifying future. Every resource of civilization is not going West or South. Steel in bulk will be made in Pittsburgh, Alabama, Colorado, and other localities, but these centers cannot produce all the commodities resulting from major manufactures. There will be important centers that produce delicate machinery and the refining instruments of more advanced life.

Providence has mostly lost the outgrowth of automobiles, as it has failed to keep shafting and pulleys. What next? Wheeled vehicles may be further modified, while aëroplanes will course through the upper air. The capital, trained skill, and organizing spirit of Providence will be needed to build up future industries. Raw material, however, should be supplied as cheaply as possible. Rhode Island has beds of indifferent iron and coal, and if a small proportion of the rich ores and fuel, accessible

by water under a rational tariff, is added thereto Providence will turn out its own iron and steel.

These fresh springs of industrial life will take scarcely anything from the old cities, but they will add new interests to the distributing centers like New York and Chicago. Although freight on a steel-bar from Pittsburgh anywhere, for example, may not cut off a special industry, nevertheless the creation of a new manufacture requires every timely co-operating advantage, as shown in early cotton-spinning. If Providence is able to get the necessary raw materials, then the accumulated capital of a rich community, added to the organizing spirit of the Gorhams and Sharpes, and the textile skill of the Knight, Goddard, and Lippitt looms, may be depended upon to make an aëroplane or any fine instrument.

We began by sketching Oil City and Pittsburgh as great springs of natural forces, or New York and Chicago as great centers of exchange. The little commonwealth of Rhode Island has not had the greatest natural advantage, yet it has had enough to develop individual power in the descendants of Roger Williams and Stephen Hopkins. Obadiah Brown could cross the vexed tropical seas to subdue the West Indies, while John Brown could bring China home to Narragansett Bay. Samuel Slater brought in Arkwright's spindles for David Wilkinson to adapt to the American mechanical system. The water power of the state, limited but well fitted to the immediate American needs, with the assistance of the accumulated capital of East India merchants, gave the cotton industry a flourishing start. The brain and hand of the gold and silver worker sent his wares over a continent. Whipple pointed his gimlet-screw, and organizing mechanics built up great

systems for the production of varied articles. The work of Gorham, Sharpe and the textile leaders is not finished. Wants beget wants; as American life advances, more skill and organizing power will be furnished by the New England manufacturers. Is there not good reason to believe that Providence will continue to develop satisfactorily as a well-rounded industrial community?

V

LABOR

BY

WILLIAM KIRK, PH.D.

LABOR

In 1817 a London surgeon and traveler writing of his experiences in America said, "I have not seen a town in Europe or America which bore the appearance of general prosperity equal to Providence. Ship and house builders were fully occupied, as indeed, were all classes of mechanics. The residents are native Americans. Foreign emigrants seem never to think of New England." The visitor to America today finds a striking change in the character of the New England wage-earner. Textiles, for example, have been and still are the dominant interest of the New England manufacturer; but textiles have ceased to be the chief concern of the English-speaking races whose former positions have been filled principally by French Canadians, Italians, and Poles.

It seems that twenty years ago a general impression prevailed among the textile-workers all through the East that Providence mill-overseers were particularly successful in getting work out of the men and women under them. The English-speaking factory hands chafed under the business methods employed and sought other means of earning a livelihood. The native American contingent has never been sufficient to satisfy the demand for labor, except in the very beginning of the industry, and the English and the Irish as they came were readily absorbed without friction and with little more than friendly rivalry among the different groups. Upon the first appearance of the French Canadians, however, the English-speaking races made common cause against the assisted immigra-

tion from the north. Unwilling to live on wages for which the invaders were anxious to work, the Americans, and to a less extent the English and the Irish, gradually abandoned their positions to the newcomers and branched out in all directions. The writer has frequently heard overseers of large Rhode Island mills explain that the English-speaking races are above the business, and voluntarily leave the mill to the French Canadians, the Italians, and the Poles; while, on the other hand, intelligent English-speaking wage-earners, who have spent years in the textile mills, have asserted that the change did not take place until cheaper labor practically forced the dear labor from the mill and factory. One American mill-hand said:

> In a quarter of a century's observation among textile-workers, North and South, I have never met one thoroughly competent operative who had any spite against the work as work, or because of the natural necessary hardship entailed by it. In every individual case where an English-speaking family of factory hands has been supplanted by an Italian or French family, the former had to be pried loose from their jobs finger by finger. The employing corporations wanted to crowd down the standard of living and they went as far as the conditions of the labor-market would warrant in reducing wages.

Since 1900 the greatest increase in the foreign-born population has been among the races of southern and eastern Europe—immigrants who are in many respects much less desirable than the people from northern and western Europe whose standards of living are not entirely different from our own. Thus the early immigration from northern and western Europe shows larger percentages of high-grade workmen engaged in a greater variety of callings, while those races representing the most recent of our foreign born show slight versatility and settle in occupations requiring little or no skill. In fact one prominent

characteristic, common to all the English-speaking races —American, English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh—is the adaptability shown for new lines of work. As soon as the races from Canada and southern Europe compete for the rough and more mechanical labor, the English-speaking races gradually move on to other occupations where the standard of living is higher and where there is a better chance for individual advancement. The present (1906) distribution of the native population of Providence by principal occupations is shown in the following table. It must be remembered that the census figures give only those workers who actually reside in Providence. Owing to improved transportation facilities and convenient suburban towns and villages, many wage-earners not included in the table make daily trips to Providence to work in the factory, mill, and office.

Occupation of Wage-Earners Whose Fathers Were Born in the United States	Total Number	Percentage of All Workers in Specified Occupations
Agents (all kinds)	603	55.7
Builders and contractors	109	45.4
Clerks and copyists	2,126	58.0
Commercial travelers	419	63.8
Compositors	148	72.5
Conductors, street railway	175	60.0
Cotton-mill operatives	551	30.8
Designers, draftsmen, and inventors	160	56.7
Draymen, teamsters, and expressmen	1,023	38.3
Engineers, civil	118	88.0
Engineers and firemen (not transportation)	378	43.7
Foremen and overseers (mill and factory)	145	42.7
Gold and silver workers	350	30.4
Jewelry-manufactory employees	1,846	32.5
Machinists	904	30.1
Manufacturers, officials, etc	695	65.7
Motormen	232	63.0
Salesmen and saleswomen	2,046	44.2
Stenographers	426	62.5
Teachers	717	61.5
Woolen and worsted mill operatives	1,134	12.2

These figures clearly show that the American wage-earners are not in the mills and factories to any large extent. American cotton-operatives, to be sure, still number 30.8 per cent. of all employees in the cotton mills, and the American jewelry-manufactory workers are 32.5 per cent. of those engaged in the manufacture of jewelry, but the large majority of American wage-earners either have passed or are passing from the mills and lower-class factory work to positions of greater independence and larger opportunity. Thus agents, clerks and copyists, commercial travelers, compositors, civil, electrical, and mechanical engineers, manufacturers and officials, stenographers, and teachers are largely made up of the native element.

Ireland has contributed largely to the population of Providence. When the Irish immigrants first came into New England they were attracted to the mills and factories where they displaced American and English hands. French Canadians in turn supplanted the Irish, who, being more versatile than the newcomers, engaged in a variety of activities. The principal occupations, as shown by the returns for 1906, are as follows:

Occupation of Wage-Earners Whose Fathers Were Born in Ireland	Total Number	Percentage of All Workers in Specified Occupations
Bartenders and barkeepers	322	54.2
Draymen, teamsters, and expressmen	1,013	37.9
File-factory operatives	335	40.1
Garden and nursery laborers	102	57.9
Government officials and employees (municipal)	379	37.7
Hosiery and knitting mill operatives	289	72.8
Jewelry-manufactory employees	1,598	28.1
Masons (brick)	155	49.3
Rubber-, boot-, and shoe-factory operatives	221	50.0
Saloon-keepers	111	60.3
Screw-factory employees	843	57.0
Servants (not specified)	2,029	50.0
Woolen- and worsted-mill operatives	2,953	31.6

The members of this race are thus largely represented among saloon-keepers, liquor and wine merchants, file-factory operatives, municipal-government officials and employees, hosiery- and knitting-mill operatives, plumbers, gas and steam fitters, rubber-, boot-, and shoe-factory operatives, and screw-factory employees.

When we consider the non-English-speaking races who are playing an increasingly large part in the industrial activity of New England, certain no less common characteristics appear. The French Canadians take to the textile mills, although a few are carpenters, some jewelry-workers, and some salesmen and saleswomen. The most recent change among the mill population of Providence and vicinity, as indicated above, is the substitution of Italians and Poles, who bring a lower standard and are content with a smaller wage, for the French Canadians, who in turn are leaving the factory for the farm and various branches of trade. The Italians and their neighbors of southern Europe, with the more unskilled Irish, are the railroad, farm, and other laborers, the apprentices and the helpers, among the working-classes of New England. After some years of apprenticeship in this country they gradually rise to more skilled work and prove valuable wage-earners. In some neighboring towns, the Portuguese have entered the textile mills in large numbers, but in Providence the majority of them are longshoremen, sailors, or ordinary laborers.

The Russian Jews, steadily increasing in number, avoid the factory, as much as possible, become small retail dealers, or prefer the smaller industries where there is some hope of individual enterprise in the near future. Thus we find among them many hucksters and peddlers,

tailors and tailoresses, boot and shoe makers and repairers, while the jewelry industry has attracted certain others.

Of the four principal industries of Providence, the cotton mills employ Americans, Irish, and French Canadians in considerable numbers, although the present movement, particularly among Americans and Irish, as we have seen, is away from the factory to give place to the cheaper labor of southern Europe. The woolen industry draws its labor-supply also from the American, Irish, and French Canadian population, with many from the English and Italian aliens. The jewelry industry with its numerous branches offers employment to various nationalities and all grades of workers. The highest-class work is done by Americans, while English, Germans, Swedes, and Irish are engaged in skilled and unskilled work. The Italians, French Canadians, and Russians follow out the more mechanical processes. Finally, in the manufacture of machinery and tools, Americans, Swedes, English, and Irish compose the major part of the skilled workers, and the Irish and Italians the unskilled.

Among the more important building trades, carpenters and joiners include nearly all the nationalities, while other skilled artisans, painters, paperhangers, plasterers, plumbers, masons, etc., are largely workmen of American and Irish parentage. In the tailoring trade we find a relatively large number of Russians and Italians, the latter race being largely represented among barbers and hairdressers, farm laborers and assistants, and masons' apprentices and helpers. The street-car employees are mostly Americans, some of whom have come from the rural districts or from

the mills and factories, and others from clerical positions to get the benefit of work in the open air. Finally the American draymen, expressmen, and teamsters, together with their only important competitors in this field, the Irish, represent 76.2 per cent. of all following the occupation of teaming.

From answers to an inquiry addressed to the most prominent employers in fifteen leading industries of Providence, it has been ascertained that with one exception there is a universal preference among employers for American labor. The exception occurs in the manufacture of elastic fabrics, where in one factory, at least, employees of English birth are rated above the American born. The Scandinavians seem to hold second place as skilled workers in the esteem of their employers, while Germans, English, and Irish rank in the order named. The less satisfactory opinions expressed concerning unskilled workers seem to indicate a preference for Italian labor, with Irish labor as a close second. In general, it may be said Americans are in a class by themselves in stores, offices, and trades in which the highest grade of work is necessary. The English, Scotch, and more intelligent Irish are sought wherever the work requires a certain amount of technical skill and individuality. The French Canadians make skilled hands in mill or factory, and as strong, energetic workers they are better fitted for the heavier grades of work than for the branches requiring a delicate or artistic touch. The Italians, usually alert, steady, and anxious to learn, are willing to take any position offering a chance for material advancement. One difficulty with them, and with the Armenians, Portuguese, Poles, etc., during the first few years of life in America, is their extremely poor workman-

ship which renders them unfit for anything but rude mechanical labor.[1]

From recent government reports we gather that the number of female workers in 1900 compared with 1880 had increased relatively faster than the total number of persons engaged in gainful occupations in nearly all the principal cities of the country. The only exception noted among thirty-four selected cities was Philadelphia where the percentage of decrease in twenty years was only 0.2 per cent. The figures given for Providence in 1880 show that 25.8 per cent. of the wage-earners were female workers, a relatively high percentage, as only eight cities of thirty-four—Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, Rochester, Atlanta, Fall River, Charleston, and Richmond—had a larger percentage of women among the total wage-earners. The highest of these cities were Atlanta with 34.9 per cent., Charleston with 34.7 per cent.; while Denver with 10.7 per cent., San Francisco with 13.5 per cent., Pittsburgh and Scranton with 14.1 per cent., and Kansas City with 14.5 per cent. show the smallest proportion of female wage-earners.

In 1900 Providence again has a relatively high average —28.6 per cent., an increase in twenty years of 2.8 per cent. Only six cities show higher percentages—Washington, Rochester, Atlanta, Charleston, Fall River, and Richmond—Providence having passed Philadelphia and Boston in the twenty years. The percentages in 1900 range from 37.2 per cent. in Charleston to 18 per cent. in Pittsburgh, while San Francisco, Jersey City, Cleveland, and Toledo show a relatively low percentage of female workers. Thus

[1] For rates of wages and hours of labor in the building trades see *Twentieth Annual Report of Commissioner of Industrial Statistics, Rhode Island*, 1906, Part V, pp. 43–49.

in 1880 the lowest percentages of female wage-earners in principal cities with reference to the total number engaged in gainful occupations were 10.7 per cent. in Denver, 13.5 per cent. in San Francisco, 14.1 per cent. in Pittsburgh and Scranton, while in 1900 the lowest percentages were 18 per cent. in Pittsburgh and 18.4 per cent. in San Francisco.

In 1900, moreover, in Pittsburgh—the city of steel mills—only 19.6 per cent. of the total population of women were wage-earners, while in Fall River—the city of textile mills—41.4 per cent. of the women were thus employed. Providence, at the same time, had 31.4 per cent. of the total female population engaged in gainful occupations. The following table gives a few of the principal occupations in Providence in which female bread-winners are engaged.

Occupations	Birthplace of Father					
	All Countries	United States	Canada (French)	Ireland	England	Italy
Clerks and copyists	1,594	821	30	371	145	8
Cotton-mill operatives	1,303	505	315	276	61	108
Dressmakers	1,624	614	83	461	120	67
Hosiery and knitting mill operatives	357	55	8	264	6	4
Housekeepers and stewards	639	265	12	191	41	7
Jewelry-manufactory employees	2,005	636	56	682	137	64
Laundry workers (hand)	436	263	6	100	19	2
Milliners	350	145	14	104	26	7
Nurses (trained)	163	61	...	17	10	...
Nurses (not specified)	564	256	19	116	49	6
Saleswomen	1,490	502	43	534	114	28
Screw-factory employees	508	171	1	159	77	10
Servants (not specified)	3,655	662	33	1,986	99	11
Teachers	1,035	624	10	247	60	3
Waitresses	363	104	10	168	16	...
Woolen and worsted mill operatives	5,154	820	250	1,716	751	845

Thus American women may still be found to a considerable extent in the textile industry, despite the constant

incoming of foreign laborers, who are in many cases endeavoring to carry on the more skilled operations. The American women apparently are employed to a larger extent than any other nationality as cotton-mill operatives, clerks and copyists, dressmakers, housekeepers and stewards, hand-laundry workers, milliners, music-teachers, nurses, screw-factory employees, stenographers, and teachers, while the Irish female workers are found in large numbers as dressmakers, hosiery- and knitting-mill operatives, milliners, and woolen- and worsted-mill operatives. Finally, the French Canadian and Italian women are likewise working in the cotton, woolen, and worsted mills where they have displaced American, English, and Irish help.

The employment of women as industrial wage-earners, unless accompanied by deep-seated evils of an unusual nature, may be regarded as one evidence of women's progress toward economic and social independence. Child labor in any community, on the other hand, is invariably a strong indication of moral and social disease. According to the census of 1880, 1,102 male children and 797 female children under sixteen years of age were employed in Providence. In 1900 the number of male children had increased to 1,922, and the number of female children to 1,298. Since 1880, however, there seems to have been a relative decline in the number of boys and girls engaged in manufacturing, as the following table will show:

		Total Number Employed	Engaged in Manufacturing	Per Cent.
1880	Boys	1,102	756	68.6
	Girls	797	706	88.6
1900	Boys	1,922	1,197	62.3
	Girls	1,298	1,108	85.4

In 1900 the cities in which child laborers were relatively most numerous among those engaged in gainful occupations were Fall River and Scranton; while the cities showing lowest percentages of child laborers were Minneapolis, Washington, Boston, and Denver. Likewise, the figures for 1900, showing the percentage of bread-winners among children ten to fifteen years of age in thirty-six selected cities, place Paterson and Reading with 25 per cent. in the first rank, followed by Fall River with 24 per cent. Providence held an unenviable rank among the cities in this respect with 19.2 of all children ten to fifteen years of age at work. Among the cities with low percentages in 1900 were Denver with 6.4 per cent., Minneapolis, Boston, and Washington. Although Providence shows up poorly among large cities in the number of child laborers, the situation here is much better on the whole than it is in the small mill towns and mill districts of Rhode Island and rural New England. In 1905, for example, only 0.22 per cent. of the total population of 1900 were bread-winners engaged in manufacturing pursuits under sixteen years of age, while 1.22 per cent. of the population of Rhode Island thus classified placed the state in the foremost rank as an employer of child-labor. The towns and cities of the country in 1905 showing the largest number of children in the factories in proportion to the total population (1900) were (1) Winston, N. C., 5.8 per cent.; (2) Warwick, R. I., 2.4 per cent.; (3) Lincoln, R. I., 2.3 per cent.; (4) Woonsocket, R. I., 2.1 per cent.; (7) Pawtucket, R. I., 1.9 per cent.; (12) Cumberland, R. I., 1.5 per cent.; (16) Central Falls, R. I., 1.2 per cent.; (25) Providence, R. I., 0.9 per cent. Thus, of twenty-five cities and towns employing the largest proportion of child bread-

winners, seven are located in the single state of Rhode Island.

The presence of ignorant foreigners who are sending their children into the mill to a much greater extent than American parents renders the situation extremely difficult to handle. In 1900, for example, male and female bread-winners in the total population of Providence, ten to fifteen years of age, were as follows:

	Total	Bread-winners	
		Number	Per Cent.
Native White, Both Parents Native			
Male	2,566	511	19.9
Female	2,633	196	7.4
Native White, One or Both Parents Foreign Born			
Male	4,204	825	19.6
Female	4,299	637	14.8
Foreign Born, White			
Male	1,368	561	41.0
Female	1,324	499	33.9

The essential difference in one respect at least between child-labor among foreign, and child-labor among native families, less frequently noted perhaps, deserves careful attention. The foreigner tolerates and encourages child-labor to a large extent, it is true, but he is a member of a frugal industrious family whose chief concern is the saving of a sufficient sum to buy a home. The English-speaking family in the textile industry, on the other hand, represents the residuum of a class that is rapidly passing out of the mill. The head of this family, in many cases, becomes idle, shiftless, intemperate, and bent on escaping

as much work as possible at the expense of the women and children. Moreover, this moral cleavage among families where mother- and child-labor is customary runs to a certain extent along the lines of nationality. The English-speaking father of a family of working-children whose standard has been pushed lower and lower through competition with the ill-paid foreigner, regards their earnings as a release from all regular and irksome employment. One native wage-earning acquaintance of the present writer, who has an intimate knowledge of the prevalence of this evil among English-speaking families, declares that 90 per cent. of the male English-speaking factory-hands go to pieces when their wives and children work, simply because they are the left-overs, lacking moral fiber and following in the wake of an industrial population gradually rising to a higher standard of living. Thus, child-labor among the virile, sturdy foreigners who seek our shores is one problem, and among the native element another. In the one case the parent religiously adds the weekly earnings of the children to the little fund that will eventually secure an unmortgaged home and a higher standard of living, while among the English-speaking races who have accepted the lower standards of the foreigners or who have been weakened through carelessness, intemperance, or vice, child- and mother-labor means the degradation of the home and the destruction of character.

During the last few years an active aggressive campaign in the interest of the child bread-winner has been carried on throughout the United States. Rhode Island,[1] influenced largely by the example of her sister states, passed

[1] See Towles, "Factory Legislation of Rhode Island," *American Economic Association Quarterly*, October, 1908.

an amendatory law in 1905 permitting the continued employment for the remainder of the year 1905 of all those children to whom work-certificates had been granted, even though these children may have been only twelve years of age. Before January 1, 1907, all other children employed in manufactures must have certificates showing that they are thirteen years of age, and after January 1, 1907, they must be fourteen years of age before receiving the coveted permit. Work is prohibited after eight o'clock at night and before six o'clock in the morning for those under sixteen years. The new law permits children to work any number of hours in stores on Saturdays and during the four days immediately preceding Christmas.

A recent act provides that "no child under sixteen years of age shall be employed or permitted or suffered to work in any factory or manufacturing or business establishment" unless the child presents a certificate given by the truant officer under the direction of the school committee certifying that the child is thirteen years of age, if it is presented on or before December 31, 1906, and fourteen years of age if presented after December 31, 1906. The truant officer, foreseeing that under these provisions a child thirteen years of age could get a certificate any time before January 1, 1907, which would enable him to work after the age-limit had been raised to fourteen years by the new law, stopped issuing certificates on October 1, 1906. On January 1, 1907, there were 822 children in the city of Providence holding thirteen-year-old certificates, many of whom were within a few months of the legal age-limit, fourteen. The Attorney-General of the state, in a decision, made it illegal for children under fourteen years of age to work, whether holding thirteen-year-old certifi-

cates or not. Accepting the decision as final, about six hundred of those under fourteen years left their work "either to enter school until they became fourteen, or to mark time out of school." The places of these six hundred or more child bread-winners were filled largely by children fourteen years old who under ordinary circumstances would have remained in school.

Child-labor conditions in Providence are much better than those in the smaller towns and rural districts of the state where there is a greater opportunity for evasion, and where illiteracy among parents and children renders child-labor a constant menace. In November, 1907, after the law had been in operation several months, a comparatively small amount of suffering had resulted from its enforcement. Undoubtedly in the smaller towns in the state, school facilities are inadequate to meet the additional demands made upon them, and the children who are dismissed by over-cautious or conscientious employers are left to roam at will until they become of working age. One case, for example, came to light where a family was entirely dependent on the wages of a boy not quite fourteen years of age, whose father, having tuberculosis, was unable to work at all. Sufficient aid was given to tide the family over until the boy could legally return to work. In another case in which a heartless parent wilfully violated the law, a little girl of but twelve years of age had been sent to work bearing a permit granted some time before to a deceased sister of the same name who was sixteen years of age when she received her certificate. Besides the classes affected by the above law, the children employed in agricultural pursuits, in household service, as messenger boys, as newsboys, and as child peddlers are in need of

greater protection. As a further step educational requirements are being urged, prohibiting the employment of children unable to read simple sentences in English. If the factory inspectors succeed in enforcing the recent legislation, Rhode Island and Providence will be able to show more encouraging statistics in the reports for the coming years. Before child-labor ceases to be a serious problem in Rhode Island, however, much remains to be done by the employer, the parent, and the public at large.[1]

In many congested centers the wage-earner, through the destructive influences of unsanitary home surroundings, is being deprived of two essentials to industrial efficiency—pure air and sunlight; but at the present time in Providence

[1] The truant officer of Providence in his report for the year ending June 30, 1907, states: "Numerous cases have come to my knowledge of illegal employment of children who should be in school, and the process of ordering children in such cases to quit such employment, which seems to be the only method employed, is getting decidedly stale and ineffective. One single break of seventeen children from one school to employment unauthorized either by age or certificate occurred this year and in some of these cases the parents refused my request that the children be immediately returned to school.

"In these cases I caused the arrest and prosecution of such of the parents as I found were possessed of means on the complaint that they had not caused their children to attend school as required by law, such children being of school age and not lawfully employed to labor, and they were found guilty and fined to the extent of the law. These parents stated in open court that they had been promised immunity from trouble by the parties employing, if they allowed their children to work, but the prospect of continued fines of twenty dollars and costs weakened the guaranty effectively.

"I have also with reluctance prosecuted children as truants who were illegally working, and whose parents shirked the responsibility of such employment. Such children have stated in open court that they were employed, given name and location of employer, stated their wages, and in one instance, presented a pay envelope.

"I do not believe that this is the proper or fair way to enforce child-labor laws. I think that employers, not parents or children, should be prosecuted for violations of child-labor laws, but I do not think that Providence employers should be prosecuted unless employers in all parts of the state are treated exactly alike."

the worst evils of tenement life have not appeared to any alarming extent. The houses of working-men here are usually small wooden structures standing alone, not more than three stories high, or large enough to contain many families, and "rookeries" in the metropolitan sense are very few in number and present comparatively slight difficulty. The two-family tenement, usually of twelve rooms, seems the most popular dwelling in Providence, each family occupying four rooms on one floor and two rooms on the third floor, which is divided between the families. While it is not unusual to find five or six persons living in one room in large cities, in Providence, in 1906, only three cases of six, two cases of five, and eight cases of four living in one room have been brought to light. Only in twenty-four cases were there three persons living in one room, and in one hundred and six cases a single room served as a home for two. A five-room tenement, housing seventeen persons in all, appears as a prominent example of overcrowding. About nine thousand families in Providence consist of three persons and of these the largest number live in dwellings of six rooms.

Turning our attention to a typical community of working-men's homes well within the city limits, which have been occupied as factory tenements and boarding-houses for sixty years, we find certain noteworthy changes going on during recent years. The English-speaking families who formerly lived there indulged in carpets, lace curtains, marble-top center-tables, and parlor organs, together with many little comforts which brighten the home, though the outward appearance of these houses and of the small patches of land adjoining gave no indications of the comforts within. The men and women were unwilling to

plant flowers, to clear away the tangled underbrush, weeds, and vines which overran the place, lest they should move to another home and leave the incoming tenants to benefit by their efforts. This crude state of mind proved a serious obstacle to reform in the depressed factory villages deep in ashes, junk, and weeds. When the French Canadians first came from the north to occupy these little homes, they neglected everything inside and outside the houses. Uncarpeted floors, a cook-stove, bare wooden tables, and the cheapest of chairs and beds were all they needed. The present writer learns from a native wage-earner who has worked and lived for years among these people that

> every Frenchman has a speckless perfectly new suit of clothes several notches superior to the general dress-up togs of the average workingmen, complete from hat to gloves and patent-leather shoes. Every Frenchwoman has one gown, one wrap, one hat or bonnet, with all the accessories of an elegant and tasteful costume, several degrees better than the go-to-meetin' finery of the class to which she naturally belongs.[1] But their homes are mere wigwams—places for attending to the necessary business of eating and sleeping and resting from the hunt for the elusive dollar.

A cosy well-furnished home in the present does not seem to appeal to them, and they constantly save for some vague far-off good which they expect to enjoy in the future. A certain proportion of these people make an annual spring exodus to Canada for the summer season, where they devote their time to farming and agricultural pursuits, only to return in the autumn to the mills and factories of Rhode Island and neighboring states. They work industriously and are extremely frugal while they stay in this country; but when the spring fever strikes them, whole families

[1] The influence of the church is here strongly marked, and the parish priest is the arbiter of secular as well as religious affairs.

will pack up their belongings and migrate northward, leaving the manufacturer to fill the places left vacant as best he may. In fact the French are "land-hungry" and mill-work is often regarded as a temporary expedient to enable them to get land for agricultural and business purposes. The tendency is marked in certain sections of Rhode Island today where the French are gradually leaving the mill villages in the face of the Italian and Polish invasion and settling on the near-by farms. Other French Canadians remain in the United States throughout the year for a given number of years until they have accumulated a sufficient sum to start the enterprise in Canada to which they have long looked forward. The many children of this class who spend their early years in this country are usually lost to Canada, partly through the influence of our public schools, and partly through the business and social ties which are here formed. For unquestionably it is a fact that each year witnesses a falling-off in the number of French Canadian mill-hands who leave for the north at the first sign of spring. The hardworking parents who have decided to make Rhode Island their permanent home are realizing more and more that mill-work affords but slight opportunity to the ambitious and energetic, and are endeavoring to prepare their children for more attractive lines of work. The difference in household economics practiced by French and native women is forcibly illustrated by the words of an intelligent wage-earner:

> The French buy what they need and waste nothing; but when I kept a large flock of hens at a place close to their little settlement, our native women used to bring me pails full of table-waste and aprons full of dried bread, cake, and baker's goods, when they were never

five dollars ahead of the game from one year to another. They never had a complete, presentable suit of clothing, and never attended church.

The Americans and English who have thus remained behind to compete with the new arrivals do not seem to have a capable grasp of family affairs, or to understand the business of living. They are the left-overs so to speak —men and women who submit to a lower standard rather than strike out for themselves in new and untried fields. The reasons for this displacement of the more independent races are mainly the material reduction in the labor-cost owing to the lower standards of the foreigners and the greater willingness on the part of the latter to work under pressure.

Characteristics as strongly marked distinguish the native element from the Italian immigrants who are pouring into New England. Here is a cottage, for example, with a strip of land ten feet wide running from the street alongside the house to a yard in the rear thirty feet square. No English-speaking tenant thinks of adding to his bill-of-fare fresh vegetables and salads through the cultivation of such a garden. But the Italian tenant as a most natural thing tills every square foot of this ground and receives as his reward in due season green peas, radishes, beets, turnips, cucumbers, lettuce, string beans, corn, tomatoes, peppers, garlic, and mint, besides ten or fifteen bushels of grapes gathered from the vine which overruns the roof and rear walls of the building. The Italian plants one crop and another between the rows; when peas and radishes are cleared off, corn is up a foot high all over the ground, and when the corn is cut, tomato plants with lettuce crowded around their roots appear. So carefully

is the whole scheme planned, that the table has something fresh from the garden every day from early spring to frost. The "superior" English-speaking next-door neighbors who have fresh vegetables but once a week look down upon the low-caste foreigner and buy at the near-by store. Mere physical health is not the most important result of this economy in provisioning a family.

Again, two abandoned farmhouses within the city limits standing back and facing away from the road, were not considered worth razing a few years ago. Recently the Italians have taken possession and are now gaining a comfortable living from the adjacent lots which have become desirable agriculture land. That these are not isolated instances, a walk or a ride through the suburbs of Providence and other Rhode Island cities will sufficiently disclose.

The Poles, or Polanders, as they are often called, bringing with them very low standards of living, have recently made their appearance to change further the character of the Rhode Island laboring-class. A typical Polish community will live in an ordinary four-family tenement of twelve rooms, each family occupying two lower rooms and one little attic room, the four families often consisting of twenty or more persons, using in common a single front door and a single back door. In a normal Polish family the father, probably a mill-hand whose wages will seldom exceed eight dollars and a half or nine dollars a week, sleeps with his whole family of five, six or seven in one medium-sized room. If a visitor to the home is fortunate enough to win the confidence of the wife and mother as she sits or works surrounded by her dirty-faced, unkempt, though withal healthy-looking, children, he will probably

learn that living in America is luxurious compared with living in the overcrowded tenements of Poland.

The daily fare here consists largely of pork chops, cabbage, sauerkraut, and rye bread; more than 50 per cent. of the weekly wage being required to feed the family. Four dollars or more a month may be demanded for the use of two rooms here, and probably three dollars, rarely four dollars, a week may remain, after the rent and store bills have been paid, for clothing, shoes, and other household necessities. Oftentimes, the man or woman, having failed to acquire a speaking knowledge of English after a residence of two or three years in this country, will eagerly watch the child interpreter of six or seven summers with possibly a few months' experience in an American school, as she is asked a question in English, which she translates into her native tongue for the benefit of her father or mother. The bright-eyed Polish child takes extreme pride in the part she is called upon to play and waits expectantly for her Polish parent to answer so that she may reply in English to the inquiring stranger.

Frankly admitting that America enables them to live on a much better scale, relatively low as that scale may seem to us to be, these people will also relate, not without a touch of pathos, how their sons and daughters in the old country are merry and rosy-cheeked, and how after a few seasons of work in the Rhode Island superheated mill, the cheeks grow thin and pale, and intemperance threatens the home.

A case recently brought to the attention of the writer illustrates how the English-speaking families are adjusting themselves to these changing conditions. Three boys and one girl working in the mill rebelled against the harsh

treatment of an overseer. Their Irish father drove them back over and over again until finally, in desperation, the children turned upon the old man when he tried to whip them and forced his consent to their leaving the mill. The father then resorted to a coal business on a scale large enough to keep the two boys busy and soon after bought two old cows and turned them over to the other boy who was told to start a milk-route. Finally to give the girl something to do, a cottage store was opened where a humble wage-earner of the writer's acquaintance has frequently paid an exorbitant price on some plain necessity of life, simply because the purchaser, having no credit elsewhere, has been compelled to trade on the proprietor's own terms.

A comparatively recent investigation of the cost of living in the United States, undertaken by the Bureau of Labor at Washington, has shown that the average annual expenditure for food among families living in all parts of the country was 44.75 per cent. of the total expenditure for all purposes, while the average expenditure for food among families in Rhode Island was 49.5 per cent. of the total expenditure. Of the total annual income per family in Rhode Island 47.9 per cent. was expended for food, 14.5 per cent. for rent, 11.3 per cent. for clothing, 4.6 per cent. for fuel, 1.0 per cent. for lighting, and only 3.3 per cent. was saved.

In other words, the normal family in the smallest of the commonwealths has spent during the year a larger proportional amount for food than the normal family of any other state in the Union. In view of the extremely important change in the character of the New England wage-earner already noted, it is significant that Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Italian families in the United States have

been found to have the largest percentages of total expenditure for food among foreign nationalities; the families of Austro-Hungarian nativity, for example, having an expenditure of 48.44 per cent. for food, the Russians, represented in Providence largely by the Jewish element, 48.35 per cent., and the Italians 47.84 per cent. The families of American, Scotch, French, Swiss, and English nativity have the lowest percentages of total expenditure for food, ranging from 43.33 per cent. among the Scotch families to 44.70 per cent. among the English.

Among the large cities of the United States in most articles of daily consumption, Providence, New Haven, New York, Worcester, Pittsburgh, Washington, and Scranton appear, in general, to have the highest average retail prices, while the cities with the lowest level of prices seem to be Detroit, Chicago, Kansas City, Buffalo, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Omaha.

To the student of economic well-being, a comparison of prices in different parts of a single city may prove not less valuable than a comparison of prices in different cities. The small provision store is a prominent factor in the life of every family community. In buying durable goods, furniture, clothing, etc., the rich and the poor alike go where they can get the desired quality of goods at the lowest prices, while in the purchase of articles of daily consumption, meats, vegetables, bread, etc., most families living uncomfortably near the poverty line deal with stores in the immediate neighborhood of their homes. A recent detailed investigation of prices among all classes of grocery and provision stores in Providence has brought to light interesting differences which follow in general lines of social and racial cleavage. In all, fifty-two stores were

MARKET SQUARE—EARLY MORNING

visited, thirty-five of these supplying the daily needs of the poorer classes, and seventeen drawing their customers principally from the middle and upper classes. The prices of leading articles of approximately the same quality were secured from each of the stores with the following results.

With few exceptions apparently the patrons of the smaller and "cheaper" stores, largely the poorer families of Providence, have been paying a higher price for articles of food than the families of the middle and upper classes. Fresh fish, potatoes, apples, butter, coffee, salt fish, flour, milk, prunes, and sugar all showed marked differences in price.

To ascertain whether similar differences existed in the retail prices of fuel, the inquiry was extended to include coal, oil, and wood; the results showed that oil was sold to the poorer families at an average advance of 4.8 per cent., wood at an advance of 15.8 per cent., and coal at an advance of 29.2 per cent. While the middle classes, for example, bought coal at a uniform rate of six dollars per ton, the poorer classes bought by the basket, and paid twenty-five cents per basket or seven dollars and seventy-five cents for every ton of coal consumed.

Considering the city of Providence as a whole, we find the average price of twenty-one articles of food in the small corner stores which ordinarily supply the homes of poor families to be approximately 9.0 per cent. higher than the price in those stores whose customers enjoy larger incomes. The poorer classes, moreover, have paid considerably more for fuel than other classes who were able to buy in larger quantities.[1]

[1] See "Retail Prices of Food in Providence," *Brown Alumni Monthly*, June, 1907.

Voluntary work on the part of employers and the public has aided materially in advancing the standards of the wage-earner thus tending to counteract this unfortunate situation. Manufacturers and heads of department stores are coming to appreciate more and more the mutual benefit resulting from improved health and general welfare of their employees.[1] A few far-sighted employers have provided, among other comforts, pure drinking-water, good ventilation, washrooms with hot and cold water, emergency hospitals, lunchrooms, and rest and recreation rooms. For instance, in one of the largest manufacturing establishments employing over two thousand men and women, some of whom earn fifty dollars or more per week, the employers have taken the lead in bettering labor conditions. A casino recently enlarged, with all modern conveniences, a large well-lighted room where men eat their noon lunches purchased at a small charge at the lunch-counter, a main dining- or lunchroom with many round tables, each with a seating capacity of six or seven persons, and a third dining-room for the use of the two hundred or more female employees, are part of the fruits of this liberal policy. Two beneficial associations conducted by employees hold their meetings in the main hall, or dining-room, which is cleared of tables for the occasions. One of the best equipped and most successful worsted manufactories in the country with light, well-ventilated mills, and sanitary surroundings has also fitted up a building, likewise called "the casino," opposite one of the mills. On the first floor of this is a lunchroom, with chairs and tables for employees, while overhead are a gymnasium and hall let at a nominal rental to the various societies among the male

[1] The leading establishments in this respect are the Gorham Manufacturing Co., Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Co., and the Wanskuck Mills.

employees. In each of the above establishments a library and reading-room, one of nearly a thousand volumes, are placed at the disposal of the wage-earners. The large department stores of Providence are also contributing more and more each year to the comfort and convenience of their employees.

A recent movement, primarily designed to prevent the spread of disease in the factories and mills of Providence and vicinity, has received the hearty co-operation of many employers and the public at large. In some factories, for example, all persons troubled with a constant cough are urged to report to the overseer of the department and receive from him a ticket for consultation with a physician.

Although it is not probable that all manufacturers will follow such an enlightened policy, it is nevertheless true that further co-operation of employers in stamping out incipient disease among the mill and factory hands will have far-reaching results. A tuberculosis exhibit on an ambitious scale recently held in one of the department stores has attracted widespread attention, and has resulted in arousing the public as never before to the nature, cause, and cure of lung troubles.

The labor movement is primarily an endeavor to raise economic and social standards through trade association and collective bargaining. In general the early movement in Providence coincides with the beginnings of labor-unions throughout the country.[1] During the thirties

[1] That organization existed among the mechanics of Rhode Island prior to 1800 is clearly indicated by the following notice which appeared in the *Gazette* of January 21, 1785: "At a meeting of carpenters, voted that their wages for the present year be six shillings per day, and that the old rules of work stand with one-ninth part addition thereto. Four men were chosen by the society of carpenters to inspect all work done by the rule of job, should the employers

magazines and newspapers recognized for the first time the true significance of a local and national labor movement. Politicians made stirring appeals to the laboring classes, and urged the doctrine of high wages in support of a protective policy. It was during this period also that the ten-hour day became a leading issue. But in the panic of 1837, the loose ties of unionism were unable to stand the strain, and the movement thereafter showed slight signs of general activity until political and industrial calm had succeeded the storm of the early sixties.

In the *Building Trades Magazine* for April, 1905, we read:

> Some time in August, 1865, the first call was made for the election of delegates from the different unions then organized in Providence for the purpose of forming a trades-assembly. After several preliminary meetings it was voted to organize an eight-hour league. Meetings were held regularly for some time after and the league was reported as in a flourishing condition. It is not known just what organizations or how many were represented in the league nor can it be stated from whom the call emanated or how long the league existed.

From this time the labor movement took more definite shape and followed the general lines marked out by the national leaders. The Knights of Labor agitation, as the

complain." Although most trades were not successful in forming permanent associations on a sound basis until after the Civil War, occasional references to trade-unions indicate that organization was not altogether lacking, or wage-earners indfferent to the advantages of united effort during the intervening period. The *Republican Herald* of March 17, 1832, the year preceding the organization of the General Trades Union of New York, made mention of an adjourned meeting of the Providence Auxiliary Association of Working Men," and the issue of April 4, 1832, announced that the journeymen house-carpenters in the employ of a leading concern had "commenced working on the ten-hour system." Other unions active during the early thirties were "The Providence and Pawtucket Association of Working Men and Mechanics" which prepared a memorial to be presented to the Legislature in 1832, and the "Journeymen Segar Makers."

first national labor movement on a large scale, succeeded in arousing considerable interest in organized effort, and paved the way for the later movement, which at the present time reflects the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor.

Each local union in Providence, as the brewery-workers, the coal-teamsters, etc., is invited to send delegates to the central labor-union, a federation of local trades, which aims to carry on locally the same work that the American Federation does in its larger field. The individual trade-unions meet regularly to discuss and legislate upon questions of immediate concern to each particular trade. Questions or disputes arising between two or more trades, or those of general interest, are referred to the local federation for settlement.

In addition to the local trade-unions and the trade-federations, there are trades-councils composed of the closely related trades in a single industry. The Building Trades Council of Providence, for example, controlling the entire building industry, and representing at the present time (1908) twelve crafts and sixteen unions, is composed of five delegates from each union connected therewith. The central labor-unions of many cities have building-trades sections composed of the building trades affiliated with the local federation, but the Building Trades Council in Providence has held aloof from the central body. The building tradesmen claim that an independent trades-council can act more quickly and with better results whenever a boycott or a sympathetic strike, which has always been considered the strongest weapon in the hands of the unions, is to be declared. The carpenters, for example, do not sign any agreement which takes away the

right to strike in sympathy with other building trades when a demand is made for better working conditions, urging in justification of this plan that work must stop on the entire building at one time if a building-trade strike is to be at all successful.

Under the present system of representative management it is possible, and not unusual, to find one local union sending delegates to various types of labor organization represented in a single community. The painters may send first of all five delegates to the local building-trades council; then a certain number of delegates based on the total membership (five for the first one hundred members, and one for every additional one hundred members) to the central labor union; a proportionate number of delegates to the State Federation of Labor, an organization formed largely for the purpose of promoting labor legislation in the state; and, finally, a delegation, based on the total membership of the local, to the bi-ennial convention of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, the national union of the trade. The union is also indirectly represented in the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor through the local federation and the national brotherhood.

It is of considerable importance to note that wage-earners in the three leading industries of Providence, textiles,[1] jewelry, and machinery, are, with the exception of the iron molders and machinists, poorly represented among the organized trades, and it is only within a very recent period that the machinists have formed an effective organization. The total number of wage-earners in

[1] A national convention of the United Textile Workers held in Providence, October, 1907, aroused considerable interest among the local mill-workers in trade-unionism.

manufactures, according to the Rhode Island census of 1905, was 39,804. Of these 14,174 or 35.6 per cent. were engaged in the textile industry, 8,944 or 22.4 per cent. were precious-metal workers, and 5,776 or 14.5 per cent. were foundry, machine-shop, and brass workers.[1]

The foreign races in the textile mills, ignorant of the aims and the advantages of trade-unionism and difficult to handle on account of the various languages now spoken, have thus far failed to respond satisfactorily to the efforts of organizers, and seldom are in a position to make a successful strike possible.

Thus far attempts to organize the workers in the jewelry industry have met with little encouragement. The jewelry workers themselves, apparently satisfied with existing wages and hours, have not grown enthusiastic over the labor movement. The industry is not apparently one that lends itself readily to trade-unionism and collective bargaining, and, also, the manufacturing jewelers have organized a strong employers' association whose real purpose is to establish and maintain the open shop. The New England Manufacturing Jewelers' and Silversmiths' Association, as the body is called, was incorporated under the laws of Rhode Island in 1903 and was ostensibly formed "for the purpose of engaging in the business of fostering, encouraging, and promoting closer social and business relations among its members," and "to assist and co-operate with its members in any and all business matters wherein such assistance and co-operation may be beneficial or expedient." Among the resolutions adopted by the board of governors are

(1) Inasmuch as we as employers are responsible for the work done in our shops, we therefore must determine what persons are

[1] These figures necessarily vary from those reported in the general census.

competent to perform the work and the conditions under which the work shall be done. We will not permit of any interference with the local management of our business or with the method of production of our shops or otherwise. (2) We will employ therein no workman who does not upon application for work bring to us satisfactory recommendations from his last employer, or if a corporation, from some officer of that corporation. (3) Ten hours constitutes a day's work.

Members of the association when called upon by its officers, furnish any information, and even are expected to furnish voluntarily information of any circumstance that may result in injury to the association or any one of its members. In addition, each member is pledged not to divulge any information of this kind to any person not a member of the association. Notwithstanding the strength of the Manufacturing Jewelers' Association, the jewelry workers of Providence would undoubtedly have had an active union if trade conditions had made organization necessary or even desirable. Jewelry, being a luxury, is subject to varying demands through the fickleness of fashion. The custom of removing hats at the theater gave rise to large orders for ladies' elaborate combs, and the wearing of short sleeves created inquiries for ladies' bracelets. The value of these articles depends not so much on their intrinsic usefulness as upon the alluring qualities imparted to them by highly ingenious artisans. Such workmen are able to ask and do receive satisfactory wages, and on this account often feel that unionism is not only unnecessary but may even prove a hindrance in their work. As the jewelry business ordinarily requires comparatively small capital to begin with, it affords exceptional opportunity to men of ambition and ability to enter into business on their own account. Many a stonesetter, engraver, hub-

cutter, polisher, plater, for example, has branched out as a representative manufacturer after a few years' experience as a skilled wage-earner. Again, as this business has little stability, and future demands are peculiarly uncertain, a trade-union governing hours and wages would, it is asserted, seriously hamper the normal working of the industry. Artisans must work overtime, and at night, contrary to the accepted principles of trade-unionism to fill rush orders which are often received. When the Union of Jewelry Workers a few years ago demanded that time-and-a-third be paid for all labor after 6 P. M. the manufacturers objected on account of the hardship that this plan would entail, because as the business during the spring and summer season has often to be carried on with little or no profit, the manufacturers must depend largely upon the fall and holiday seasons, with consequent overtime work, to net them ordinary profits.

There seems to have been little organized effort among the machinists of Providence until very recently, when an agent of the International Association of Machinists succeeded in arousing considerable interest in the movement. Hours, it is asserted, have been long, and wages low in comparison with the majority of other large cities, and the appeal has been made directly to the machinists to organize for the purpose of obtaining a shorter workday and better wages. As the efforts to form an effective union among the machinists are in many respects typical of the present methods of organizers, the following extracts from a circular letter addressed to members of the craft may be of interest:

> In taking the liberty of addressing this communication to you I feel that you are somewhat interested in the welfare of the trade at which

you earn your living. If I should succeed in convincing you that a request for fifty cents a day made upon the employers of this city by 80 per cent. of the men employed by them would be cheerfully granted, your organization recognized, and a set of conditions put into effect in which you have some small say yourself instead of leaving it all to the employer, would you then be willing to become one of the 80 per cent.? Now I wish to invite you to become a member of our society or to make any inquiries that you may deem advisable or consider necessary for your further information. The day of strikes is past; no employer will permit his men to leave his employ if it is going to cost him more money if he does; hence we are sure of some material improvement.

Applications for membership printed on a small card and widely circulated read as follows:

To the Officers and Members of Rhode Island Lodge, No. 147:

GENTLEMEN: Being desirous of becoming a member of your organization, I herewith tender you this, my application, with the initiation fee of $.....

I am at present working at the machinists' trade, being employed by the .....Co. at the following class of work..... I have had .....years' experience, and am most proficient at .....

The applicant will please answer the following questions:

Have you ever been a member of this organization? Answer, YES or NO.

If so, give number and location of last lodge to which you belonged .....

The employers' associations mentioned above, the New England Manufacturing Jewelers' and Silversmiths' Association, and the National Metal Trades Association, have refused to form agreements regulating the wages and hours of work or to recognize the union in any way. Other prominent employers' associations in Providence which have taken the same stand against collective bargaining and in favor of the open shop, are the Master

Teamsters' Association, the Lumber Dealers' Association, and the National Association of Employing Lithographers. Certain strong associations of employers notably those among the New England brewers and the Providence coal dealers, on the other hand, have recognized the union and have formed trade and industrial agreements extending over a period of one year or more. Among associations of less prominence may be included the Master Carpenters, the Master Painters, the Electrical Contractors, the Operative Plasterers, the Master Plumbers, the Independent Master Plumbers, the Master Steam Fitters, and the Builders and Traders Exchange, an organization composed of representatives from the different building employers' associations and corresponding to the Building Trades Council, the local federation among building tradesmen.

Ordinarily, agreements between employers and trade-unions cover only the workmen of a single trade. If an industry is thoroughly organized there will be as many agreements regulating hours, wages, etc., as trades represented therein. In another connection[1] the writer has called attention more particularly to the advantages and disadvantages of a different form of agreement found in some industries, namely the industrial agreement, which unites under one authority all the craftsmen in a single industry, like the brewers, the beer-bottlers, the beer-drivers, etc., in the brewing industry, and the miners, the engineers, and the firemen in the mining industry.

The agreements signed by the coal dealers and coal teamsters, the master brewers and brewery workers of

[1] "National Labor Federations in the United States," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, Series 24, Nos. 9 and 10, pp. 135 ff.

Providence, are fairly typical of trade and industrial agreement respectively.

The first written agreement between the coal dealers and the coal teamsters increased the wages from seven and nine dollars per week to eleven dollars for drivers of one-horse teams, twelve dollars for drivers of two-horse teams, and fourteen dollars for drivers of four-horse teams. The long and uncertain hours, however, were the greatest source of trouble. Formerly the teamsters reported at six in the morning and seldom left for home before nine or ten o'clock at night. Under the new agreement, the Sunday stable-work formerly required is entirely prohibited, and when other Sunday work is necessary, the rate of compensation therefor is "the schedule rate, and one-half of such rate in addition." The work day begins at 7 A. M. and ends at 6 P. M., with one hour for dinner. Another important clause, establishing the closed shop, provides that none but union men wearing the monthly button or badge issued from union headquarters shall be employed. If a union cannot furnish sufficient men, the employers may temporarily work non-union men until their places are filled by union men. Finally, on the principle that a teamster's duty is primarily to look after his team, a clause has been inserted in the agreement stipulating that no driver shall be compelled to carry coal upstairs or above the landing at the place of delivery.

The most comprehensive industrial agreement in Providence has been signed by the master brewers and the brewery workmen. In 1899 the first agreement dealing largely with rates of pay in the brewing industry went into effect. Yearly contracts were made thereafter until May, 1905, when a contract with seven brewery proprietors

was arranged covering a period of three years. Since one section of the present agreement reads, "If at the termination of this contract either party wishes to continue or amend this contract, notice to that effect shall be given at least thirty days before the expiration thereof, and at the time of serving such notice, specifications of the proposed changes shall be submitted," there is a possibility though hardly a probability that this agreement may extend over an indefinite number of years. The results of the industrial agreement in this case, namely, a material reduction of the hours and a marked increase in the rate of pay, are fairly indicative of the advance generally made under a well-developed system of collective bargaining. Prior to 1899 brewery workmen were receiving an uncertain wage of ten or twelve dollars per week, consisting of six days of twelve hours each and Sunday forenoon. In 1899 the agreement established a minimum wage of thirteen dollars and a maximum wage of twenty-five dollars per week. During the next few years under successive agreements, the hours were reduced from twelve to nine, with holiday and Sunday work excluded whenever possible, and to be paid for at the rate of fifty cents per hour, other overtime work being at the rate of thirty-five cents per hour.

This agreement, as has been noted, covering all branches in the brewery—the brewers, the firemen, the engineers, the drivers, etc.—enforces the closed shop and dictates to the employer, in some degree at least, how his business shall be managed. For instance, the men cannot be discharged or outside help be employed by the master brewers unless the union officials are notified, and to distribute the injurious effects of a dull winter season men

must be laid off impartially and in rotation for periods not to exceed one week at any particular time.

In certain industries the formation of agreements regulating the use of the union label is a prominent aim of the unions. In the printing industry, for example, the label is controlled by the Allied Printing Trades Council, consisting ordinarily of representative printers, printing pressmen, webb pressmen, photo-engravers, bookbinders, and stereotypers. Before the Allied Printing Trades Council grants the label to any concern, it ascertains whether the conditions in the shop meet all union requirements, and if so, signs an agreement regulating the future use of the label.

In order to prevent irregularities in connection with the use of the blue label of the cigar-makers, employers report each week the number of labels desired and the union keeps a check upon this number by referring to the statements of union cigar-makers. One objection urged on the part of manufacturers is that the label stands for different conditions in different localities. Thus Pennsylvania manufacturers on account of the lower labor-cost are able to produce cigars at two dollars per thousand less than Providence manufacturers, and at the same time are often granted the use of the union label. The employers claim that they are in a position to compete successfully with non-union cigars, but they are not able to compete with labeled goods produced at a lower rate.[1]

[1] This condition holds good in other industries as well. For instance in the boot and shoe industry, New England shoes compete with shoes made in Cincinnati, Rochester, St. Louis, or Chicago. If the unions in New England, strongly organized though they may be, raise wages beyond a certain point, the manufacturers find at once that they are placed at a great disadvantage in marketing their product. On the other hand, unions in other industries, notably

The Union Label League of Providence, recently formed through the efforts of various trades dependent on an extended use of the label, and composed of one representative from each union, is designed to increase the sale of union-label goods through an urgent appeal to the individual interests of a discriminating public.

While trade-disputes have been of frequent occurrence in Providence, little violence has resulted therefrom, and comparatively slight loss has fallen upon employers and employees. Of the four most important labor troubles of 1905, for example, one was amicably settled through voluntary arbitration, one virtually settled itself, both sides claiming a victory, a third was called off after the men had been on strike about six weeks, and a fourth, lasting about a month, resulted in complete union defeat.

The arbitration clause in the agreements of properly conducted unions is designed to promote industrial peace and a better understanding between capital and labor. The Providence master builders and various trades in the building industry, notably the bricklayers and the carpenters, are prominently identified with the movement to establish permanent peace through arbitration of all difficulties. The agreement between the master builders and the crafts mentioned above reads in part as follows: "No question (of mutual concern) shall be conclusively acted upon by either party independently, but shall be referred to a Joint Committee, which committee shall consist of an equal number of representatives from each

the building industry, have no such problem to face. Houses in New England cities do not compete with houses in St. Louis or Chicago, and building craftsmen may combine to force up wages with slight regard to the general situation throughout the country. The contractor shifts the additional cost of production upon the consumer.

Ontario.

association; and all such questions shall be settled by our own trade without intervention of any other trade whatsoever." Again, "In no event shall strikes and lockouts be permitted, but all differences shall be submitted to the Joint Committee and work shall proceed without stoppage or embarrassment."

During the last few years the American labor movement has grown steadily in relative importance until at the present time it may well be regarded as a dominant economic problem. Though organization among wage-earners in Providence has not been as thorough or as aggressive as in many other cities, trade-union activity in particular industries has resulted in permanent good. The movement in other industries has naturally been retarded by rapidly increasing migration from eastern and southern Europe. Nevertheless, with capital and labor more willing to enter into joint agreements in the interest of industrial peace and social well-being, with an enlightened trade-union policy in the hands of able, conservative leaders, Providence wage-earners may look forward with confidence to an uninterrupted advance in their economic and social standards.

VI

GOVERNMENT

BY

JAMES QUAYLE DEALEY, PH.D.

GOVERNMENT

Early history.—The city of Providence[1] dates its chartered existence from June 4, 1832, but its settlement from 1636. In that year Roger Williams and his few companions crossed the Seekonk River and founded Providence Plantation, named so "in gratitude to his supreme deliverer." The original grant of land obtained by Williams from the Indians was about four miles square and might roughly be considered as bounded by the Seekonk and Pawtuxet Rivers, Neutakonkanut Hill and Pawtucket. This claim was gradually pushed westward and northward so as to include nearly all of the northern half of the present state, an area of about three hundred and seventy square miles. In 1730–31 the outlying rural communities amounting to about three-fourths of the entire area, were separately organized into three towns: Scituate (including Foster), Glocester (including Burrillville), and Smithfield (including North Smithfield and Lincoln). Within the next thirty years three other towns were separated—Cranston, Johnston, and North Providence, and thereby the area of the town of Providence was reduced to about five and one-half square miles. After the Civil War the expansion of the city necessitated an opposite tendency and parts of these last-named three towns have been reincorporated into the city area, which now amounts to a little over eighteen square miles.

[1] Among the numerous books bearing on the history of Providence especial mention for the purposes of this chapter should be made of Howard K. Stokes, *The Finances and Administration of Providence.* Johns Hopkins Press, 1903.

During the first few months of settlement, regulation of the general interests of the community was by common consent exercised by the heads of families, but in August of the following year (1637) a definite compact was signed, whereby civil authority was formally vested in these heads of families and religious opinions left free. These heads were at the beginning joint owners of the land-grant secured from the Indians, and had the power to determine what persons should be admitted as inhabitants of the plantation, and who should be allowed to purchase land. In 1640 a firmer compact, more detailed in its nature, was adopted and signed by the freemen of the town. In 1644 Williams secured from Parliament the patent or charter incorporating the several settlements of Narragansett Bay into a separate colony, but it was not until 1647 that the first general assembly met and adopted a general code of laws.

This assembly was made up of the freemen of the towns of Providence, Newport, and Portsmouth, the town of Warwick later being added. The general government as organized consisted of a president, an assistant from each town, and a body of commissioners composed of an equal number of delegates from each town. The union thus formed was really a sort of confederation, as the towns had complete autonomy, and the general powers resident in the general assembly were practically exercised at the will of the several towns, which had the power of initiative and referendum over acts of the assembly.

The royal charter of 1663 made a radical change in the relations of the towns to the colony. Governmental power under the charter was vested in the freemen of the colony, who exercised their authority through two sets of elected

delegates. The first consisted of a governor, a deputy governor, and ten assistants; the second consisted of eighteen deputies. The relative importance of each town was now taken into account, and to Newport were assigned five in the first House and six in the second; to Providence, three in the first and four in the second; and to Portsmouth and Warwick, two each in the first and four each in the second. Under the charter the colonial government became supreme as against the individual towns, which from that time on were legally, and became in fact, increasingly subject to the jurisdiction of the colony as a whole.

Under the parliamentary charter, Providence, in 1649, was granted a special charter which merely confirmed to the town existing rights of largest possible autonomy. This principle of self-government was the town's policy also, since it left a large measure of freedom to its inhabitants. In fact it was impossible to do otherwise owing to the fewness and poverty of the settlers. The soil lacked fertility and the few inhabitants gained a wretched living from agriculture and grazing. Education hardly existed and the blessings of civil and religious freedom were insufficient in themselves to induce immigration. Down to the eighteenth century, therefore, government was simple because there was a small population and these were in the main desperately poor. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the population was slightly over fourteen hundred, and averaged four persons to the mile.

In the earliest years of the colony the Proprietors[1] and the heads of families were the same persons. Newcomers resided in the colony on suffrance and could claim

[1] The Proprietors as a separate organization held meetings even as late as 1836. Wilson, *Local Government*, p. 51.

no rights. After a proper lapse of time they might be admitted as inhabitants and enjoy civil rights. As inhabitants of the town the heads of families by formal vote might be admitted as freemen and thereby become entitled to political rights. By the year 1658 these rights ceased to be the prerogatives of heads of families and were bestowed on all who held land. With varying modifications in detail this system was maintained well into the nineteenth century and furnishes the keynote to the numerous struggles for a larger suffrage.

As long as land was cheap and agriculture the only form of occupation, no really serious difficulty arose from this system. To be sure, the proportion of freemen to the number of inhabitants and outsiders was small, but the ratio was fully as democratic as that prevailing in other colonies, and in fact more so, owing to the absence of religious restrictions on the suffrage. When, however, in the eighteenth century commercial interests, and in the nineteenth century manufacturing interests, began to develop, the relative number of freemen to inhabitants rapidly decreased.

The beginnings of this stage may be noted in the legislative act of 1724 which regulated the franchise of the town. This law admitted to the rights of freemen those who possessed a "freehold of lands, tenements, or hereditaments" to the value of one hundred pounds, or forty shillings rental. The eldest sons of such freemen were also admitted to the franchise. Some modifications were later made in these provisions so as to eliminate fraud and to allow for the depreciation of the currency, but the principle remained the same. In 1798 the amounts in English coinage were transferred into American money at

the rate of six shillings to the dollar. This roughly fixed the franchise at one hundred and thirty-four dollars real estate, or a rental value of seven dollars. Small as the qualification was, it effectively barred out the major part of the inhabitants. "In 1790 the proportion of freemen to the inhabitants was one to eleven, and in 1832 about one to fifteen." The population in this latter year was about 18,600 and the number of freemen, 1,200.

Government of the town.—The government of the town was made up of two parts: the town meeting and the town council. The town meeting consisted of the body of freemen, the town council of delegates elected by these, aided by the representatives of the town in the general assembly serving *ex officiis*. By statute the council became the agent of the colony in the administration of such general powers as probate, police, and highway powers; by ordinance of the town meeting it became the agent for general local administration. Throughout the entire period of its existence it remained an important body and the chief agency in the administration of town business. By contrast the functions of the town meeting relatively diminished. It seldom met oftener than four times a year and assembled chiefly for purposes of election and ordinance-making, exercising, however, large control over finance. Throughout the revolutionary period the commercial interests of the town were paramount and remained so down to the agitations leading on to the War of 1812. From that time commercial interests yielded relatively to manufacturing interests which steadily grew in importance. Landed interests as such became the least important of the three. Yet political power remained vested in the land-owners and their eldest sons. Under such conditions

government through a minority of adult males, who represented an inferior economic interest, became increasingly difficult. Then, too, the rapid growth of population necessitated additional administrative duties through multiplication of functions. The town meeting, in consequence, too heavily burdened with duties, gradually delegated these to committees, especially in finance matters and thus slowly divested itself practically of much of its power. At the same time, the town debt steadily increased. In 1790 it was about $27,000, forty years later it was $110,000, and financial matters were loosely administered. In view of the situation a movement began in 1828 for a city charter.[1] In January 1830 the assembly granted a city charter with the proviso that it should not go into effect unless approved by three-fifths of the freemen voting thereon. Seven hundred and twenty-eight votes were cast in the following month, of which a majority, but not three-fifths, favored the change. In September of the following year a small riot emphasized the need of a stronger form of government. At the town meeting of October 5, a committee of six was appointed to draw up a charter. This was submitted a week later and approved by the freemen on October 22. The general assembly was then petitioned to grant the charter and did so, but subject to another referendum. This was held on November 22, and six hundred and forty-seven votes were cast, four hundred and fifty-nine persons voting affirmatively. The first election for city officers was held on the fourth Monday of April, 1832, and the city government was organized on the first Monday in June with the

[1] See "Plan of City Government," reported by a special committee October, 1828; and "City Charter," discussed in town meeting April, 1829.

Photo by Wm. Mills & Son

Gen. Burnside Monument

Central Fire Station

Federal Building:
Post-office; Custom House; U. S. Court

Industrial Trust Building

Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument

EXCHANGE PLACE, LOOKING EAST

hope, as the mayor put it, that the new organization would "administer the power already possessed with more prudence, economy, and energy."

The charter.—The charter of 1832 was not a lengthy document, consisting of about four thousand words only. It is still in force, though it was revised in 1866 and has been modified by numerous statutes. The charter required the division of the city into six wards of equal voting population, and provided for a mayor, a city council, and two courts. The center of the system is the city council which was to exercise the powers formerly held by the town meeting. The council consisted of two houses, a board of aldermen, one from each ward, and a common council made up of four from each ward. The charter required that the mayor and members of the city council should be freeholders, that the mayor and aldermen should be elected at large by ballot, by the freemen of the city, and that members of the common council should be elected by the freemen of the ward in open meeting. The mayor's salary for the first year was fixed at one thousand dollars, for aldermen one hundred dollars each annually, and members of the common council were to serve without pay. Voting lists of freemen were to be prepared in advance, a majority vote was required in all cases, and the board of aldermen was to act as a returning board. The common council was to elect its own presiding officer, the mayor was to be chairman of the board of aldermen, which body was authorized to elect a president *pro tempore* who should serve as acting mayor in the absence or disability of the latter. The two houses were to sit as a convention with the mayor in the chair (1) at the opening of each municipal year (the first Monday in June), for the purpose

of organization; (2) for the election of municipal officials not otherwise provided for; and (3) as a board of registration authorized to admit as freemen of the city of Providence those persons legally entitled thereto. In other respects the two houses were to act by concurrent vote.

The board of aldermen succeeded to the powers and duties of the old town council, except in its right to make ordinances, and had in addition the power of redistricting the city every five years, and of acting as a returning board for elections. At its head, taking the place of the president of the town council, was the mayor, who in addition to his duties as presiding officer was a justice of the peace, the head of the police force, and held the authority of a sheriff for the suppression of disorder. The executive and police powers of the city were vested, therefore, not really in the mayor, but rather in the board of aldermen with the mayor as chairman. This system was on the whole quite like that of the English municipal council of today, or the somewhat similar types of France and Germany. Mayor Bridgham in his first inaugural address, 1832, called attention to the many resemblances between the charter of the city and the state charter then in force. In this same address it is interesting to note that, aside from suggestions in regard to organization, the mayor recommends to the council that special attention be given to matters of education, police, and finance. The charter further provided for a police court of three judges selected from the justices of the peace, having jurisdiction over petty offenses against city ordinances, and for a municipal court presided over by a judge elected by the council. This court had jurisdiction over probate matters formerly exercised

by the town council, and over larger offenses against city ordinances.

The most curious provision of the charter is contained in section 2, which provides that freemen of the city, in number not less than forty, may at any time hold a town meeting for the purpose of transacting business in relation to the property devised to the town by Ebenezer Dexter Knight, and known as the Dexter Donation. This town meeting is still held annually at the city hall on the third Saturday of December and the freemen of the town are summoned by the ringing of church bells to administer the donation. As in former times, the freemen are lax in their attendance and the requisite quorum of forty is hard to secure. Members of the city council usually fill out the quorum, reports are made, commissioners appointed, and other business transacted before adjournment.

This system is essentially the plan of government operative in the city of Providence today. Changes in detail have been made, functions enlarged, departments multiplied, powers added to and taken from the mayor, but to all intents and purposes the present system of council government for the second largest city of New England is practically the same as that devised nearly eighty years ago for an overgrown village just emerging from the status of a rural town meeting. This is in part due to the excessive conservatism of the general assembly which is made up so largely of rural members who are ignorant of changes in municipal government common in other parts of the country. In Providence also, civic patriotism is weak, partly because of the limited elective franchise and beggarly representation in the assembly, and also through causes common to all of the larger cities of the United

States, such as rapid growth and an influx of an alien population ignorant of our governmental institutions.

On the basis of this historical discussion, we may now compare the Providence system of municipal government with the theory and practice of municipal administration common to other parts of the United States.

The relations of the city to the state.—We are rather definitely committed, under American democratic principles, to the theory of municipal home rule. As far as the city of Providence is concerned, historically considered, the practice in the main accords with the theory. A large measure of local autonomy has regularly been exercised, and nothing arouses civic resentment more quickly than encroachments made by the assembly on this principle. A difficulty, however, arises from two sources: First, the city, legally a mere creature of the state under the national constitution and deriving all its powers from the state, is technically subject to full and complete regulation and control in all matters by the state; and, second, the city, in addition to the exercise of its purely local functions, has been made the agent of the state in the exercise of its general powers, in such matters as police, taxation and assessment, elections, and education, and for that reason is also subject to general regulation. Had the general assembly worked out at the beginning a proper system of division of mutual powers and obligations, friction likely would never have arisen. In fact, however, the assembly, after bestowing such powers on the city virtually without regulation or restriction, has from time to time "interfered" and has ventured to regulate arbitrarily the affairs of the city to an extent which, in the opinion of its citizens, is entirely uncalled for.

This tendency may be illustrated by the gradual increase in special legislation. During the first thirty years of the city's chartered existence forty-five statutes affecting the city were passed, one hundred and eighty in the second thirty years, and one hundred and thirty-five in the next ten years. In addition to this steady increase in the number of bills, an examination of the nature of these statutes shows that whereas the earlier statutes affected routine and petty matters, the later ones regulated the most fundamental interests of the city. This growing tendency, therefore, to make the general assembly a city council for Providence, while natural under the conditions, is not in accord with modern development nor with theories in regard to the relation of state and city.

This interference has been most marked in statutory grants of franchises for the use of the city streets, and in the transfer of power from the city council to special boards, such as the school committee, the police and fire commissions, the board of canvassers and registration, and the board of public works. The essence of this interference lies in the fact that the organization of these several departments and the powers exercised by them are set by statute of the general assembly, not by ordinance of the city council. Many other states have guarded against evils inherent in legislative interference in three different ways: (1) Provisions have been placed in the state constitutions forbidding legislatures to bestow grants of municipal street franchises without the city's approval by referendum vote, and forbidding them to legislate by special statute for cities; (2) cities by constitutional requirement must be chartered under general law, or may be authorized to make their own charters through municipal convention

and referendum, or are given referendum power to reject or approve a special charter; (3) as supervision through administrative boards is considered superior to legislative interference, state administrative boards have been authorized by constitution to supervise, and to regulate, through ordinances, the performance of some of the general powers delegated to the cities.

None of these safeguards can be found in the constitution of Rhode Island. By custom the cities are given a referendum on special charters made by the assembly, but under the constitution the general assembly is autocratic, there being practically no limitations on its powers. The danger to the principle of home rule arising from the assembly's autocracy is increased by the fact that the cities are greatly under-represented in the assembly and have no determining voice in legislation that affects themselves. That they have not suffered more is possibly due to the knowledge that it is "ill killing the goose that lays golden eggs." Of the assessed valuation of the state 72 per cent. is to be found in the cities, and this wealth gives influence when their demands are vigorously presented.

This system of misrepresentation is complicated by the survival in the cities of an antiquated suffrage. The suffrage franchise has through the entire history of the city of Providence proved a fertile source of discontent. It will be remembered that under the old state charter, freeholders and their eldest sons only had suffrage rights, and that the rapid growth of Providence in commerce and manufactures during the early part of the nineteenth century had brought in a large body of inhabitants who by the terms of the charter were disfranchised. The agitation that culminated in the Dorr War and the con-

stitution of 1842 largely centered in Providence and resulted in a slight change in suffrage requirements. The real-estate qualification of one hundred and thirty-four dollars was retained, the privilege of "eldest sons" was stricken out, and *native* male citizens of the United States who paid a poll or personal-property tax of at least one dollar were admitted to the suffrage, but with the proviso that "no person shall at any time be allowed to vote in the election of the city council of the city of Providence, or upon any proposition to propose a tax, or for the expenditure of money in any town or city, unless he shall within the year next preceding have paid a tax assessed upon his property therein valued at least at one hundred and thirty-four dollars." These vexatious restrictions were modified somewhat in April, 1888, by the so-called Bourn amendment, which struck out the obnoxious word *native*, but substituted in the proviso clause for "in the election of the city council of the city of Providence," the words "in the election of the city council of any city." At the present time, therefore, male citizens of the United States who have fulfilled requirements of residence and registration[1] may vote for all civil officers, state and local, but in the five cities of the state those male citizens only who pay a tax on at least one hundred and thirty-four dollars of property, real or personal, may vote for candidates to the city council. In the city of Providence this means that all registered voters may vote for mayor, city treasurer, overseer of the poor, and harbor master, but only property voters for members of the city council. This limi-

[1] Owners of real estate once registered are kept on the list as long as they retain ownership, but owners of personal property must pay their tax shortly before election or be dropped from the property lists.

tation has serious effects. The vote of the last ten years (up to 1906) shows an average of 20,435 votes for mayor, but only 8,163 for aldermen, indicating a disfranchisement of nearly 60 per cent. of the voters in respect to the city council. The political effect of this limitation is to place the control of municipal government in the hands of the Republicans. The general vote which elects the mayor is usually Democratic in the five cities, but the property vote is strongly Republican. As the mayor has small powers in government, control over municipal affairs rests with the Republican organization. This limitation on municipal suffrage is a standing grievance on the part of Democratic, reform, and radical organizations, and is pointed at as the only survival in the United States of the old-fashioned, colonial property qualification.

Elections.—Under the original charter municipal elections in the city of Providence were annual, and the same expensive and unnecessary system still holds. The time of election was originally the third Wednesday of April; this was changed in 1843 to the second Wednesday of May, but in 1896, to save the city expense, and to bring the local election under the influence of national politics, the time was set in November.

Under the early charter the city council, aided by the city clerk, acted as a board of registration, and the board of aldermen as a board to canvass the returns. There were minor changes in this system up to 1895, but in that year the assembly transferred the power of registration and returns to a board of three, elected by the city council on the first Monday in March, one each year for a term of three years. Their salaries are fixed by statute and they have large discretionary powers. The charge has

frequently been made by members of the minority party that the board uses its powers for partisan purposes. Whether the charge be true or not, their powers certainly give them the opportunity to do so.

The board has power to receive the registration of persons entitled by law to vote, and to prepare the voting lists of all persons qualified to vote. Its decision in doubtful cases is practically final. In addition to these powers it furnishes to party caucuses lists of persons entitled to vote therein, provides at the expense of the city polling-places, ballot-boxes, and supplies as needed, and holds in custody the ballots when counted by the officers of the caucus. In case of dispute the board has the right to recount and determine the results. Similarly at municipal elections the board designates the several voting districts of the wards, fixes the location of the polls, furnishes polling lists, appoints for each voting district a warden, a clerk, and four supervisors of election, and officially counts the returns so as to verify the count of the officers of the voting districts.

As the suffrage for members of the city council is different from that for general officers, two sets of ballots have to be prepared; a general ballot for all voters, and for voters on the property list a special ballot containing the names of ward candidates for membership in the city council. The Australian ballot system is used in election, but not in party caucuses. In these the several factions, if any, present their tickets to each voter, as under the old system.

The council system.—There are in the United States at the present time three general types of municipal organization: (1) The mayor or federal system in which the theory

of separation of powers is logically carried out and all executive and administrative powers vested in the mayor, leaving to the council law-making and supervisory powers only; (2) the council system whereby law-making and administrative powers are both vested in the city council, and the mayor has merely slight supervisory and police powers and possibly the veto; (3) the commission system whereby all municipal powers are centered in the hands of a small commission, either elective, as under the Galveston plan, or appointed, as in the case of the city of Washington. The general failure of municipal government throughout the United States is driving our cities, especially the larger ones, away from the council system into one or the other of the alternatives. The movement toward the mayor system began with the Brooklyn charter of 1882, and the Galveston charter of 1901 brought the commission idea into prominence. A modification of the council system much in vogue is that in which several classes of powers are taken from the council by statute and delegated to boards or commissions, wholly or partly independent of the jurisdiction of the city council. These semi-independent departments are often left without proper supervision and degenerate in economy and efficiency. The Newport (R. I.) charter of 1906 is an attempt to purify the council system by the introduction of a large (195) popular lower house, unsalaried and nominated by free nomination instead of through party caucuses. This experiment is as yet too new for results and in any case is a system adapted only to small cities.

For the last fifteen years, at least, the respective merits of these typical systems have been discussed throughout the United States. Providence by its charter is distinctly

committed to the council system. In February, 1896, the city council appointed a committee to prepare a city charter for its consideration, with the expectation of submitting it to the assembly for passage after endorsement. The committee reported in November, 1898, a mayor charter which had many defects in detail through lack of carefulness, and which involved too many radical changes in the existing system. The proposed charter was referred by the council to a committee, which after several hearings carefully placed the document in a pigeon-hole where it still rests.

The city council.—Under the existing charter, "The mayor, aldermen and common council, in their joint capacity, shall be styled the city council." Municipal powers are centered in this body which meets monthly and exercises its law-making powers by the passage of ordinances. It exercises its control over administration through committees, and dictates under its statutory powers the policy of the city. Had Providence followed the general tendency throughout the United States, control over administration would have been transferred in whole or in part to the mayor. This has not been done, since whatever powers have been taken from the council have been bestowed by statute on special boards of administration.

The city council, as already indicated, is composed of two houses, a board of aldermen, and a common council. There are now ten wards in the city and each elects annually one alderman, and four members at large for the common council. Aldermen, it will be noted are now elected by wards. The change from election by general ticket was definitely made in 1866. This combined member-

ship of fifty makes an unwieldy body and necessitates government through committees. The trend in municipal government generally throughout the United States is toward a small unicameral council, especially if the mayor system of executive control over administration has deprived the council of the larger half of its powers. As long as the council retains control over administration, a fairly large membership seems necessary so as to provide for the numerous committees needed for purposes of supervision. Yet the committee system is open to serious objection. Of necessity a supervisory control through committees lacks unity, efficiency, and economy. The numerous committees are in a sense rivals, and work for their departments rather than for the city as a whole. Each member of the council, who must serve on from three to five committees, is so burdened with responsibilities that the drudgery of it all falls chiefly on the more conscientious members, who have to devote a disproportionate amount of time to petty details. It is practically impossible for most members of the council to master the methods and principles of the administrative departments over which they exercise supervision. Hence the real responsibility for departmental efficiency falls on either the head of the department or the chairman or some efficient member of the committee. If these efficient members of the council could be retained as the council and the departments consolidated and co-ordinated, the resultant gain in responsibility would surely result in a much more business-like administration. The necessity for a bicameral council ceases with the rise of the mayor's veto, which furnishes a sufficient check on vicious or immature legislation.

At the opening of the municipal year, the first Monday

of January, the city council meets in convention to take the oath of office, and for the election of the numerous officers whose appointment is vested by statute in the city council. On occasions factional disputes or political questions bring about a real conflict, but these instances are rare. Immediately after organization the council appoints through its chairmen its numerous joint standing and special committees to supervise administration and to perform functions assigned by ordinance. There are sixteen joint standing committees, each consisting of five members, four appointed by the president of the common council and one by the mayor as presiding officer of the board of aldermen. Other joint standing committees are named, with *ex-officio* membership, and many special committees are required by rule and ordinance. The *Manual* of 1907 has a list of eighteen joint standing committees, fourteen joint special committees, and eleven standing committees of the board of aldermen. Each committee elects its own chairman and each joint committee is required to keep a record of its proceedings and to report at stated times on matters referred to it. The clerk of the common council is also clerk of all joint committees, the city clerk is clerk of the board of aldermen and of all its committees.

In respect to general powers the two houses are fairly well balanced. They are co-ordinate in delegated general powers, but the larger membership of the common council gives it a theoretically determining voice in joint committees and in elections through joint convention. On the other hand, the mayor and board combined represent the executive powers of the city so far as these have not been delegated to commissions, and have vested in them

the old powers of the town council, including supervision over health and highways. Incident to these powers the board has the right to elect certain officers and inspectors, and the licensing power over auctioneers, undertakers, and weighers of coal. The salary paid to members of the common council is three hundred dollars per annum, but to members of the board five hundred dollars.[1] Relatively in point of dignity membership in the board is far more desirable, and hence its membership is usually made up of older men who have had large experience in municipal administration. The board makes its own rules, and elects a president who serves as mayor *pro tempore*. The mayor as presiding officer has a casting vote and appoints all committees.

Powers of the city council.—These, as already indicated, are large. They are not granted as general powers but are specified in detail. The inevitable consequence of this is that the city council must frequently have recourse to the general assembly either to have that body enlarge its powers in some particular or to modify some existing power. The better principle at present is to grant to a city general powers in local autonomy, and specified powers in those matters in which the city plainly acts as agent for the state in the exercise of its general powers.

The city's specified local powers are practically those that developed under town government. These it regulates through ordinance and administers through numerous officers and departments. The extent of these powers will best be seen in the discussion of its numerous admini-

[1] Members of the common council were first paid under statute of October, 1852. In the revision of 1866 the city council was empowered to fix the salaries of its own members and fixed them as above in 1891.

strative departments. The power of appointment and removal is in the city council, subject to a very few exceptions made by state statute. Under the original charter all city officers except the mayor were elected by the council. In 1858 the treasurer's office was made elective by popular vote, and in 1866 the offices of overseer of the poor, and harbor master were also made elective. These three officers with the mayor make the four annually elected by general vote.

The mayor.—As already noticed the mayor's duties were patterned after those of the president of the town council. Under the original charter he was not so much a separate department of government as a member *ex officio* of the board of aldermen. This is clearly expressed in the revised charter of 1866: "The mayor and aldermen shall compose one board, and shall sit and act together as one body." Unitedly they exercised the executive powers of the city including police and health powers. In addition he was a justice of the peace, had the powers of a sheriff to maintain order, and in 1855 was given the exclusive power of appointment and removal of all members of the police force. His control over the police with some modification lasted down to 1901 when a police commission was appointed. In 1854 the veto was added to his powers and this largely increased his influence. The veto at first could be overridden by a majority vote, but since 1866 a three-fifths vote of both houses is required. Down to the passage of the Bourn amendment of 1888 the mayor was usually of the same political party as that which controlled the city council, and hence he naturally assumed a sort of leadership and maintained this power by custom and common consent. After 1888, however, the

admission of naturalized voters to the general suffrage of the city coupled with the rise of an independent vote, tended to throw political power in the general city election into the hands of the Democratic party, and mayors since that time have usually been Democratic. In consequence of this change, the city council and the state assembly, which are regularly Republican, have unitedly sought to reduce the mayor's powers until at present he has small influence in the management of the city. His most effective power is the veto, which, though frequently overridden, yet acts as a check on legislation and calls public attention to obnoxious measures that might otherwise be passed with small comment. The police power once so firmly centered in him has been transferred to the police commission. Since 1891 he has been an *ex-officio* member of the school committee. His supervisory power is rendered nugatory from the fact that he has almost no power to suspend or to compel the resignation of inefficient officials. His power of appointment is limited to the assistants in his own office, save that he may appoint a commissioner of public works and the members of the police commission. As these, however, are subject to the approval of the board of aldermen, in practice he can nominate only such persons as they are willing to approve. In other words, these officers are Republican even though the mayor is a Democrat. His only remaining power is that of recommendation, and by custom each mayor submits at the first meeting of the year an annual message containing many recommendations. The message, however, seldom receives much attention and little heed is paid to his recommendations by the council. His chief function aside from a routine of perfunctory duties, is social. He represents

the city in the reception of distinguished visitors and is frequently called on to make addresses at every conceivable sort of gathering. Notwithstanding the insignificance of the powers attached to the office, it is a position of great honor and eagerly sought after. The duties are not arduous under the circumstances, and the salary, which is now fixed by city council, since 1889 has been five thousand dollars per year.

Administrative departments.—The departments that collectively make up the administration form the really important part of a city government. Upon the efficiency of their work depends the health and general prosperity of the citizen body. Defective highways, wretched police and fire departments, and neglected sanitation betoken a high death-rate and economic and moral decay. No problem in city government therefore deserves so much attention as the development of a scientific and an efficient administrative system, and yet few problems have been so neglected throughout the United States. In this respect Providence cannot claim to be in the van of progress, for its system is rather the absence of system. This condition is not strange under the circumstances. The town of Providence throughout the larger part of its existence was poverty stricken and had neither the means nor the trained intelligence to perform its functions in accord with the highest standards. Until the end of the eighteenth century the needs of the town were so elementary as hardly to be deemed worthy of notice. Growth in administration, therefore, came partly as a sheer necessity owing to rapid economic and numerical development, and partly as a series of compromises and concessions, often forced on the city council by the general assembly at pop-

ular demand. Naturally the departmental system has grown in a similar manner and no vigorous attempt has ever been made to co-ordinate and systematize all of the existing numerous departments. How complex the system is may be seen from the city manual, which lists some thirty-eight departments and ten commissions or boards. The fact that the city council uses regularly over forty committees for administrative and supervisory purposes indicates clearly the decentralized and disjointed system of administration existing in the organization of the city.

A study in the development of government in the United States through a council or law-making body shows clearly the several stages through which a departmental system tends to pass: (1) All business is done in open session of the council like a town meeting; (2) special business is referred to a temporary committee which reports to the council; (3) a permanent kind of business is gradually delegated to a permanent standing committee; (4) as this work becomes onerous it is intrusted to paid functionaries who serve under the supervision of a council committee; (5) the several kinds of permanent administrative business, each supervised by a standing committee, multiply in number as municipal business enlarges and increases in kind; (6) finally, the inevitable discord and waste of such a complex system compel simplification; kindred departments are grouped together and supervision unified through a head or group of heads of administration. The city of Providence, like many other bodies politic throughout the United States, is beginning to awake to the necessity of reorganizing its entire administrative system, and the abortive charter of 1898 illustrates a movement in that direction. The tendency toward a partial centralization

is best seen in the history of the Department of Public Works, but the demand for more efficient administration has usually been met by transferring powers from the council to special commissions or boards acting under statutory powers. These will now be considered in turn.

It will not be possible here to trace historically the development of the several departments of administration. Attention will first be called to those departments jurisdiction over which has been removed from the city council and vested in a separate board or commission, and second, to the several departments still under the control of the city council as a whole, or of the board of aldermen under its special powers.

The school system.—The development of this department and its present organization will be considered separately in a later chapter. It will be sufficient at present to say that a joint control is exercised over educational interests by the city council and a school committee. This body consists of thirty-three members—three *ex officio*, and thirty elected by wards, three from each of the ten wards, one each year for a term of three years. Its power in brief consists in the right to control and regulate the school system, while control over appropriations and school buildings rests in the city council.

Board of canvassers and registration.—The organization and powers of this board have been explained in a previous section where it will be noticed that the board has by statutory grant the power to register voters, regulate primaries, and serve as a returning board. Practically, the only power left to the city council is the right to elect the members of the board. Once elected, however, the

board is autocratic and does not even have to make a report to the city council.

The police department.—There are three great types of police administration: (1) the state appoints, regulates, and supports the police force; (2) the locality has that power; and (3) the locality appoints and in large part regulates and supports the police, but is to some extent aided by subsidies and regulated by the state. Autocratic and strongly centralized governments like Turkey and Russia have the first system, the states in the United States have the second, and Great Britain uses the third. Local mismanagement in this country, accentuated by police corruption, has brought about a strong tendency toward state interference. This takes either the form of statutory regulation seeking to compel greater efficiency, or else the substitution of a board appointed by the state in place of local administration. Experiments of this sort so far made are not entirely satisfactory, and some adaptation of the English system will likely be next tried. The experience of Providence in this matter is typical.

The present organization of the department dates from November, 1901. Up to that time police powers had in the main been in the hands of the mayor and board of aldermen. The force was not under civil-service rules, and politics, it is said, played a large part in its organization and management. Since 1891 there had been some movement toward a commission, but one whose members should be appointed either by mayor or city council In 1901 the assembly, with the assent of the city council, but against the protest of the mayor, transferred police and licensing powers to a board of three persons, appointed by the governor of the state, one each year for three years,

and with a fixed salary. The commission was given full power of appointment and control over the police force; the power to grant licenses in such matters as theaters, taverns, and pawnbroking, and in addition the power to grant liquor licenses, which at this time were granted by a board of license commissioners. The expense of the department was to be borne by the city, the council making an annual appropriation as formerly. Naturally such a radical change created much discontent. The mayor had been deprived of the larger part of his power; the city's control over the police, so long exercised, had gone, and nothing was left to the city save the mournful pleasure of paying under compulsion the bills. In practice the effect of the change proved beneficial, as capable commissioners were appointed who made the department far more efficient. The commissioners' path, however, was well beset with thorns—on one side they had to resist movements to make the department strongly partisan, on the other to conciliate those who denounced the change as a violation of home rule. After a stormy career a surprise came in 1906, when the assembly, nominally to placate the demand for local control, really, so its opponents charged, to render the commission more susceptible to political influences, amended the act of 1901 by transferring the power of appointment from the governor to the mayor, but subject to the approval of the board of aldermen, and with the proviso that in case the mayor's appointment fails of confirmation, the board may itself fill the office. By this device[1] an appointment by a Democratic mayor can

[1] The model for this bit of legislation is found in the state statutes which authorize the senate to substitute candidates in case the governor's nominations fail of confirmation.

always be rejected in favor of the Republican candidate. This same statute provides that henceforth the police commission report quarterly to the city council instead of to the governor as under the other system. The commission by statute has large discretionary powers but has seldom cared to exercise these. In practice it continues the older system of organization and licensing, but by concentration of authority, and greater freedom from political influences has been able to make improvements from time to time in the personnel and organization of the department.

The fire department.—This most necessary department of administration in the course of its development went through the usual stages of improvement. The system that required every householder to keep on hand in case of fire "two leathern buckets" was gradually replaced by a volunteer force and the hand-engine. The paid force was not organized until 1854. For forty years from that time the control over the department was practically in the council committee on the department. The inevitable evils of politics and mismanagement that manifested themselves under that system brought about a demand for reorganization. This was met by the statute of 1892 which created a board of three commissioners in which was vested the power of appointment, and of management and control over the entire department. The city council was authorized to elect the members of this commission and to determine their salary, term of office, and duties. This body, however, angered by the withdrawal of its control over the department, refused until 1895 to pass the necessary ordinances. The commissioners are elected one each year for a three-year term by the city council in convention, and report annually to that body. The council

exercises supervision through joint committee and appropriates annually the expenses of the department.

Department of public works.—The most centralized department in the city administration is that known as the department of public works. A single commissioner, appointed for a term of three years by the mayor and confirmed by the board of aldermen, is placed in charge of this important department. As the commissioner holds "until his successor is appointed and qualified" the board, by refusing to confirm the mayor's appointment, may thereby virtually re-elect the commissioner in office. The basis of this consolidated department is found in an act of 1880 which created a commission of three authorized to have general charge of sewers and drains, of the water supply, and of highways. Subsequent legislation (1890) reduced the commission to a single member, gave him the right to appoint the city engineer who is the next most important officer in the department, and placed him in charge of the construction, maintenance, and repairs of public bridges. By ordinance also, 1900, the city council abolished the office of superintendent of lights and placed the care of this department on the commissioner of public works. The commissioner has power to appoint at his discretion a secretary, and such subordinate engineers and assistants as he may deem necessary. He fixes the salary of all engineers subject to the approval of the board of aldermen. He may appoint and may fix the compensation of all other employees he may deem necessary, except that all compensation in excess of one thousand dollars per annum must receive the approval of the city council. By statute he is authorized to make assessments for sewer purposes, and by ordinance he is authorized to make

contracts under regulations specified in the ordinance, and to license persons to use explosives for blasting purposes. He is required to give a bond of ten thousand dollars for the faithful performance of the duties of his office and reports quarterly to the city council.

The organization of the department naturally divides itself into divisions having charge of water, sewers, highways, bridges, and lights. To supervise the working of these several divisions there are joint committees on water, sewers, highways, and lights. The board of aldermen, under its powers, serves as an advisory committee on bridges and appoints standing committees on streets and bridges.

The city engineer performs his duties under the direction of the commissioner of public works. He is the chief engineer of the waterworks and prepares all plans in connection with sewers, highways, and other public works. He reports on the condition of the waterworks and sewerage systems, has charge of the surveying of highways and lands owned by the city, and is custodian of all plans relative to the work under his charge. His department has a separate organization, which is supervised by a joint committee of the city council consisting of six members; the mayor is chairman of this committee and four other members hold *exofficiis*.

The nature of the organization of this department should now be obvious. As far as its functioning is concerned the department is plainly centralized and any lack of co-ordination should properly be ascribed to the weakness or incapacity of its head. Under the older system newly made highways were sometimes torn up by other departments and double expense thereby entailed. No

such clash of authority is now possible. The commissioner's powers are mostly statutory and cannot be altered by city ordinances; his powers of appointment and removal are large and his authority unchecked within the department. The real limitations on his power are seen in the power of the council to regulate and supervise. If the mayor had in fact the power to appoint him or to compel his resignation the situation would be different. As it is he is practically under the dominance of the city council and especially of the board of aldermen.

The absence of civil-service rules to regulate the employment of so large a force as necessarily must be engaged on public works makes the department the center of any tendency toward a spoils system. It is not a sign of good omen that seven distinct committees directly supervise the work of the department, not including the board of aldermen which has so large powers over highways and bridges. No commissioner could long maintain his independence under such conditions if these committees were inclined to use pressure in respect to contracts, appointments, and public improvements.

In addition to those departments especially organized under statutory authority, there are others organized by the council under its powers granted by charter. These will now briefly be enumerated.

The weakness of the executive office is indicated by the fact that its duties are all easily performed by a clerk and a messenger under the authority of the mayor.

The department of the city clerk has charge of the files, papers, and records of the city council and of the board of health; and its head is the keeper of the city seal and issues commissions to all city officers. Kindred but sepa-

rate departments are first that of the city sergeant, who has the care and the superintendence of the city hall, and second that of the clerk of the common council and of council committees.

The departments for finance are two in number, but these will be discussed in another connection. They are the departments of the city treasurer and of the city auditor. Two important joint committees of the council have large supervisory powers over these departments, viz., the committee on finance, and on accounts. In addition to these departments and committees, there is a body known as the commissioners of sinking funds, composed in part of members chosen by the council, and in part of members *ex officiis*. It is the duty of this commission to "have the control and management of all sinking funds."

A most important and highly efficient department is that for the assessment of taxes. The board is composed of three persons elected by the council one each year for a period of three years. Two of the members of this board have held office for over twenty years (since 1885–86), and the third member since 1895. This has insured a steady and progressive policy and a well-developed system of assessment. The work of the department is supplemented in a most efficient manner by the department of land records, where deeds are recorded, and a well-nigh perfect system has been devised for showing by plat cards and index the ownership and transfers of land.

The law department is organized under a city solicitor, aided by two assistants, who is selected by the council for a term of three years. The city courts consist of a municipal court and a police court. The former has jurisdiction over probate matters and once had original and appellate

jurisdiction in respect to offenses against city ordinances. The police court has jurisdiction in similar offenses where the penalty or fine does not exceed ten days' imprisonment or twenty dollars fine. In connection with this court a peculiar system exists. Since drunkards, if committed at all, must be sent to county jail as there is no city prison, it has become customary to discharge nearly all persons charged with this offense, so as to save the expense of commitment in a state institution. An arrest, therefore, practically amounts to a sort of warning, an incipient probation system. Possibly because of this laxity Providence enjoys the reputation of having an unusually large per capita proportion of arrests for drunkenness. The average annual number of arrests on this charge for the last ten years is 5,700.

Under town government the duties of the department of health devolved on the town council, whose powers passed under the charter to the board of aldermen. This board is *ex officio* the board of health and works through a superintendent of health, who is now elected for a term of three years by the city council. The office dates from 1856 and has had but two incumbents; the present superintendent, Dr. Charles V. Chapin, has held the office since 1884. The department has its usual duties of inspection and regulation of sanitary conditions, contagious diseases, quarantine, and also is in charge of the disposal of garbage. The superintendent in addition to his duties as health officer is also city registrar for records of births, marriages, and deaths, and also issues under general statute marriage licenses.

Public parks.—The park lands of Providence for a long time consisted merely of the area immediately adjoin-

ing the Cove basin. The management of this was confided to the joint standing committee on city property, later aided by the committee on parks. In 1891 under authority of a statute dated 1878[1] the city elected three unsalaried park commissioners, serving for three years, and also bestowed on them very large discretionary powers. Generous appropriations have since been made from time to time, and through the tireless efforts of the commissioners the park area owned by the city has steadily increased and extensive improvements have been carried out. A paid superintendent is in charge of administration, and a joint committee of the city council supervises.

Miscellaneous departments.—There are many loosely organized, semi-independent, minor departments that properly should be incorporated with other related departments. The most important of these is the department of public buildings, which is under the charge of a superintendent and is managed by the joint standing committee on city property. The duties of the department involve the supervision of the construction and maintenance of all public buildings. Of other departments the duties of the superintendent of hacks are sufficiently indicated by his title. The same may be said of numerous inspectors such as the inspector of buildings, of milk, of plumbing, of kerosene, of provisions, of steam boilers, etc. There are numerous other officers known as viewers, weighers, and sealers, but no mention needs to be made of their somewhat unimportant offices, except as illustrations of a poorly organized, irresponsible administrative system of municipal government.

[1] Passed in view of the fact that Betsy Williams had just donated the major part of the land now know as Roger Williams Park.

Functions of the city.—It will be assumed in the following pages that comment is unnecessary in respect to the ordinary functions of city government. There is a vast amount of routine business transacted year by year which is quite the same in all cities. Attention will therefore be given to those matters that stand out prominently in local administration, and in themselves deserve emphasis, omitting, however, such matters as will be treated in other chapters.

Police and fire functions.—By statute the city regulates liquor-selling through a license system. Control over this matter is in the hands of the police commissioners who have large discretion in the granting of licenses. For the year 1905 they granted 45 wholesale licenses at $1,000 each, and about 500 retail licenses at $400 each.[1] The drug-store evil is shown from the number having special licenses, 123 in all, and this is one of the weak spots in liquor-regulation. In addition there are 610 tavern licenses granted, paying fees of nearly $15,000 annually. Other large licensing powers are placed in the hands of this board, chief among which may be mentioned licenses (in the year 1906) for dogs (7,146), billiards and pool (241), junk (249), and peddlers (998). Newsboys and bootblacks also are licensed and must wear numbered badges, but no fee is charged for these. Nearly 600 are issued yearly.

The entire income from licenses of all sorts is nearly $300,000; one-fourth of the amount paid for liquor licenses goes to the state, and also one-half of the amount paid for billiard and pool licenses.

The police department numbers (December, 1905)

[1] By statute passed 1908 the number of licenses from December 1, 1908, is not to exceed one for each 500 inhabitants, and the fees are to be increased.

about 300 in all, 240 of whom are patrolmen; these report at seven stations each of which is in charge of a captain. Admissions to the force, promotions, and dismissals are made in accordance with regulations made by the commissioners. An efficient signal service is in operation, a bicycle squad during the summer months, a pension system for superannuated officers, a drill-master, matrons for female prisoners, and a carefully devised Bertillon system of measurements.

The fire service is one of the most efficient in the city and is seldom subject to criticism. The force employed is about 300 men (280, December, 1905) and appointment and promotion take place under merit rules laid down by the commission. The equipment of the department is excellent and constant progress is made in perfecting it. Its special features include a high-pressure service for the business section of the city; a fire-alarm service, both underground and aërial; a protective department partly supported by insurance interests; and a small pension fund which greatly needs enlargement.

Health.—Naturally the chief function of a health department is to abate nuisances and to prevent the spread of contagious diseases. A special hospital is soon to be erected for the latter and this will be directly under the control of the city. The collection and disposal of garbage is under the control of this department. The work is done by contract and the garbage itself is for the most part used as food for swine. The department has some regulation of lodging-houses and homes for infants, and has made a slight beginning in the medical inspection of schools. Stringent laws for the inspection of the milk-supply are in force and a strong movement is on foot to

check the ravages of tuberculosis. The city is defective in that it has no public bath-houses nor comfort stations. The filtration system for city water has done much to check the percentage of cases of typhoid fever.

Public works.—The water-supply of Providence is obtained from the Pawtuxet River. The entire system is owned by the municipality and is a remunerative source of income. The meter system is in use; about 86 per cent. of the service is thus measured. A minimum charge of ten dollars per household is made, and the excess, if any, charged at a fixed rate. The income derived from sales is far in excess of the amount needed for interest and maintenance and is devoted to the purposes of a sinking fund and extensions of the service.

The water is pumped from the river into a system of natural filter beds and thence into reservoirs at an elevation sufficient to furnish water to the city by gravity. One of these (Fruit Hill Reservoir) is used for "high service" and also to supply special pressure for fire purposes in the business sections of the city. The filtration beds, ten in number, have a daily capacity of about twenty-five million gallons. These beds at first were open, but difficulties from ice during the winter months compelled a change of plan and a contract has been let for the construction of arched cement roofs. The water furnished the city is now of excellent quality and practically pure. During the year 1906 over fifteen million gallons of water were supplied, or a per-capita consumption of sixty-eight gallons.

The sewer system of Providence, like the water supply, has been well developed and presents an efficient system for the removal and disposal of sewage. The plan in its fundamentals was presented in 1884 by the city engineer

and is now nearing completion. The entire cost so far for construction and maintenance is about ten millions of dollars, eight of which is for construction account. There are two hundred and four miles of sewers and nearly ten miles of storm sewers for surface drainage. There is an average daily flow of sewage into precipitation tanks of over twenty-two million gallons. This is first treated chemically, and the sludge is then pressed into cakes and dumped for filling purposes. The water passes into sedimentation tanks and finally is turned into the river under thirty-six feet of water. The sludge has not been found to be useful for fertilizing purposes and as already explained is used chiefly as filling for low lands. About eighty-six tons of sludge cake are produced daily.

Lighting.—The town of Providence began a system of public lighting in 1821. In 1848 gas was introduced into the city and the city's lighting expense was considerably increased. In 1886 the city contracted for arc electric lighting in certain parts of the city, and in 1898 a contract was made for incandescent lights also. Under present contracts the city uses some four thousand electric lights about evenly divided between arc and incandescent, and about one thousand gas lights with Welsbach mantles. In the census report Providence ranks as the fourth best lighted city in the United States, being exceeded only by New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

Highways.—With respect to highways the city assumes the entire expense of construction and maintenance when the street has been brought to grade by the abutting owners and accepted by the city. There were in 1906 about two hundred and forty miles of accepted streets. About three-fourths of these are built of macadam and about

one-eighth of granite blocks. The rest consist of brick, asphalt, and gravel. Street-cleaning machines are used in the business section and street-sprinkling is done at municipal expense by electric-car service along some of the principal thoroughfares. There are about twenty-five bridges, large and small, over the numerous streams that traverse the city's area. These naturally form an important part of the highway-system of the city.

VII

FINANCE

BY

HENRY BRAYTON GARDNER, PH.D.

FINANCE

No records are better fitted to throw a clear light on the life-history of an individual, a family, or a community than are the records of its income and expenditure. Not only do such records disclose the course and rate of progress from poverty to wealth or the reverse; they disclose also the habits, the means of livelihood, the nature of the new tastes and needs which develop with changed conditions of life and the growth of resources, and hence the dominating ideals. The story of the revenues and expenditures of a community, which during the course of seventy-five years has developed from a small town to a thriving city, which, during this period, has grown so rapidly in wealth that expenditures have increased with tenfold the rapidity of population, should form an instructive chapter in its history. To trace this growth accurately in a way to bring out its real character is, however, by no means a simple task. The importance of the art of clear accounting is but just beginning to be recognized and the figures presented in official reports require careful analysis and rearrangement to make them disclose the true character and significance of the facts with which they deal.

The financial history of the town and city to 1900 has already been studied with great thoroughness and presented in detail by Mr. Howard K. Stokes in his *Finances and Administration of Providence*, and the facts which serve as the basis of the following discussion have been largely drawn from the carefully worked out statistical tables appended to his work, showing classified receipts and

expenditures by years, supplemented by the reports of the auditor and the information which that officer has courteously furnished in answer to inquiries.

Although drawn for the most part directly or indirectly from the auditor's reports, the statements of revenue and expenditure in the following discussion frequently vary materially from the figures contained in these reports. This variation is due partly to a reclassification of items, partly to the omission of certain items contained in the reports, and partly to the inclusion of certain items not contained in them. Revenues in the form of general-property taxes and licenses collected by the city and paid over to the state are omitted from both sides of the account, since these items belong to the revenues and expenditures of the state, the city acting merely as the collecting agency. For the same reason, the figures for the rate of taxation are exclusive of that portion of the total rate which provides for the state tax. Receipts from gifts, the principal of which is to be invested and the income only used by the city, are also excluded since they constitute no part of municipal revenue. The same is true of receipts from loans and expenditures for the payment of debt, including contributions to sinking funds. Municipal expenditure must in the long run be met out of revenues from property, the profits of industrial undertakings carried on by the city, or taxes and other similar forms of revenue. Borrowing, except for the burden of interest-payments which it entails, does not in the long run directly affect the amount of revenue or expenditure; it simply avoids the necessity of maintaining the balance between revenue and expenditure each year by extending the period within which the revenue to meet a given expenditure may be raised. The

effect of borrowing is evident in the excess of expenditure over revenues at certain periods and at others in the excess or revenues over expenditures, which excess is available for the reduction of debt. Except when the contrary is stated the finances of the waterworks are also excluded from the discussion of revenue and expenditure for the reason that the waterworks were intended to be, and for many years have been, a self-supporting enterprise imposing no burden on the general revenues of the city. On the other hand, revenue and expenditures of the Dexter Donation, a large gift of real estate made to the town before it became a municipality, the proceeds of which are used for the support of the poor, are included, although the finances of the donation are administered separately from the finances of the city and are not included in the auditor's report.

When in June, 1832, the first government under the municipal charter was inaugurated, the population of Providence was between eighteen and nineteen thousand. The total expenditures, other than a small payment for the discharge of floating debt, during the first year of the new government amounted to between $46,000 and $47,000, approximately $2.50 per capita. The most important single items were: care of poor, $8,800; streets and bridges $8,100; schools, $6,200; interest on debt, $5,400; police, $4,100; protection of health, $2,900; protection from fire, $1,800; and lighting, $1,700.

The salary-list for general officers, including the mayor, city council, and judicial officers, amounted to only $3,400, accounted for in part by the fact that the greater number were paid by fees. The fact that the police force was composed of constables also paid by fees helps to account

for the small expenditure for police, while volunteer service kept down the expenditure for fire protection to the small sum necessary to provide the material equipment.

In tracing the increase of this budget nearly a hundredfold through a period of seventy-five years, during which population has increased hardly more than tenfold, it will help toward a clear understanding of the rate and character of the change if we distinguish the regularly recurring expenditures incident to the administration of city government from the much more variable expenditures for providing the plant necessary to enable the city to discharge its functions; such as expenditures for the construction of buildings, streets, sewers, waterworks, and parks. When, through the growth of the city, the need for some new service, such as a sewerage system, waterworks, or parks, is felt, the acquisition of the necessary plant may involve a large expenditure within a few years. The plant once provided, however, the expenditure ceases, except for the amount required for the extension incident to the growth of population, until the plant becomes antiquated and large expenditures are again necessary to replace or remodel it. In connection with this class of expenditures, therefore, we should expect to find alternating periods of large and small amounts, an expectation strikingly realized in the financial history of Providence, which shows two clearly marked periods of large expenditures for construction, corresponding roughly to the eighth and last decades of the nineteenth century.

The reader should, however, be warned at the outset that the classification of revenues and expenditures is to a considerable extent a matter of judgment, for the exercise of which official reports do not always afford adequate

information. This is sometimes true, also, of the statement of such an item as net indebtedness. Per-capita statements for intercensal years are necessarily matters of estimate. It is evident, therefore, that many of the figures which follow must be regarded as close approximations rather than exact statements. It is believed, however, that the approximation to accuracy is sufficiently close to afford a substantially correct view of the facts.

Expenditures for construction.—For the period of sixty years, 1848–1907, during which the published financial statements of the city enable us to distinguish, with a fair degree of accuracy, expenditures for operation and maintenance from expenditures for acquisition of property and construction, the latter amounted, as nearly as may be determined, to $29,140,500. Of this sum $19,082,600, approximately two-thirds, was expended during the twenty-one years, 1866–79 and 1891–97. The total cost of construction of the waterworks, covering the period 1870–1907 has been $7,071,283, of which $5,007,700 fell within the period 1870–79.

With the exception of the years 1855 ($65,800), 1856 ($105,800), and 1857 ($109,000), when there were, as compared with any earlier period, large expenditures for streets, the expenditures for construction did not reach $50,000 in any year during the first thirty-two years of municipal life although during this period the population of the city had increased to nearly 55,000. The municipality was simply a larger town. The changes which in reality created a city in place of the old town came during the fourteen years following the close of the Civil War.

During these years the area increased threefold and the population nearly doubled, reaching 104,800 in 1880.

Street mileage more than doubled. Waterworks and a sewerage system were introduced, and expensive public buildings erected. While constructive work of this character was without question imperatively called for by the growth of the city, there is also no question that its execution was in many instances marked by wastefulness, extravagance, and want of sound judgment, due to lack of experience in handling large problems of municipal life, to want of an effective organization of municipal government, to the low standards of political morality which dominated the country as a whole during this period, and to the continuance in office through practically the whole period of an able and energetic mayor ambitious for the city's growth. Allowance must be made, also, throughout the greater part of the period for the high prices due to an inflated currency and to land-speculation. The course of the growth of expenditure during this period may be more clearly seen from the following table:

Years	Average Annual Expenditure for Construction			
	Other than for Waterworks		For Waterworks	
	Actual Expenditure	Per Capita	Actual Expenditure	Per Capita
1866–69	$ 196,000	$ 3.17	.....	....
1870–73	506,800	6.44	$549,400	$6.98
1874–75	1,244,900	12.77	740,800	7.60
1876–79	619,100	6.02	145,700	1.42

During these fourteen years in addition to $5,000,000 for waterworks, which as yet fell far short of meeting operating expenses, the city expended for construction $7,783,900, as against less than one-tenth of that sum during the previous thirty-two years of its existence as a municipality.

RHODE ISLAND STATE ARMORY

The bulk of this enormous expenditure is accounted for by the following items:

Streets	$1,560,300	
Sewers	1,550,000	
Schoolhouses	1,118,900	
New City Hall	1,045,400	
Fire department	351,200	
Bridges	252,900	
Police department	147,600	
		$6,026,300

Another $1,000,000, approximately, was expended in connection with the "Brook Street district," an area of about 43 acres which had been allowed to develop without proper grading and lay-out of streets, to remedy which lack of foresight and to provide streets and sewers the city was compelled to purchase the whole area at generous prices, the greater portion being afterward sold at a loss. The total expenditure in connection with this undertaking amounted to $1,284,763. Deducting the proceeds from the sales of land and minor items, the net cost to the city on its completion in 1887, in addition to about a quarter of a million dollars for interest, was $857,412.

Such rapid increase of expenditure was bound to lead to opposition and reaction, particularly during the years of industrial depression following the panic of 1873 and the collapse in the value of real estate which bore the chief burden of taxation. This reaction was clearly manifest as early as 1876 when, leaving out of account expenditures for the City Hall, the building of which had already been undertaken and had to be carried to completion, the expenditures for construction amounted to $673,700, as compared with $1,082,700 in 1875. In 1877 the same class of expenditures fell to $430,600, and in 1880 the expenditures for all construction purposes, including

waterworks, amounted to only $89,700, or 86 cents per capita. Not only were expenses reduced, but legislation was enacted increasing the efficiency and economy of the municipal administration, as well as placing a limit on the taxing and debt-creating power of the city, and the rule of Mayor Doyle, under whose leadership the great increase in expenditure had taken place, came to an end.

The next ten years were a period of what might be called normal growth on the basis of the already established plant. There was a gradual increase in the expenditures for the construction of streets, sewers and schoolhouses necessitated by the growth of the population of the city from 104,800 in 1880 to 132,100 in 1890, and encouraged by what was on the whole a period of industrial prosperity. In 1889 the expenditures for construction had risen to $478,000 and in 1890 to $687,000, approximately $3.77 and $5.12 per capita.

The years 1891 to 1897 mark the second period of large and costly additions to the city's equipment. Construction expenditures during these years averaged $1,614,100 or approximately $11.19 per capita. For the two years 1892 and 1893 these figures rose to $2,020,300 and $14.56, respectively. The bulk of the aggregate expenditures of $11,298,700 during these seven years is shown in the following statement:

Sewers	$3,951,100	
Streets, including sidewalks and curbing	3,031,800	
Schoolhouses	1,491,200	
Parks	1,406,200	
Bridges	423,700	
		$10,304,000

While what may be termed the necessities of municipal life, represented by streets, sewers, and schoolhouses are

still the most important items, the large expenditure for parks in comparison with the earlier period of municipal construction is clearly indicative both of new needs arising from the congestion of population and of the tendency to make use of governmental agencies to minister to health and the desire for rational recreation, as well as for the provision of actual necessities.

During the next three years expenditures for construction fell to $728,700, $698,500, and $461,000 ($2.63 per capita), respectively. For the last seven years expenditures for construction have averaged approximately $575,000 a year. In only three years of the seven has the expenditure for such purposes exceeded $3.00 per capita, the highest figure reached in any year being $4.35 in 1906 representing an actual expenditure of $880,900, the most noticeable increase in a single item being for school buildings. While there is reason to believe that expenditures for construction will be somewhat higher during the next few years than in the immediate past, there is no indication that the city is entering on another period of addition to equipment comparable to those already discussed.

Expenditures for operation and maintenance.—The expenditures for operation and maintenance, although fluctuating appreciably from year to year and revealing marked differences as between different periods, are much more steady in their movement, showing on the whole a tendency to increase both absolutely and in proportion to population, a tendency to be expected as a result of the growing wealth of the community, the constant increase in the kinds of service rendered by the city government, the rise of salaries as well as wages and prices, particularly during the third quarter of the last and the present century, and

the increasing interest payments on the debt incurred for construction purposes.

Starting with an expenditure of less than $50,000 in 1833, the $100,000 mark was passed in 1848, the $500,000 mark in 1865. The growth during this period was due mainly to the development of a system for the protection of person and property more adequate to the needs of a city, and the growing demand for larger and better educational facilities. In the early fifties a permanent salaried police force was substituted for the constables and watchmen inherited from the town and in 1854 the volunteer fire department gave way to a paid department with a permanent force. Eight years later, 1873, the $1,000,000 mark was reached. The $2,000,000 mark was not reached until 1892 but the $3,000,000 mark was passed in 1899. The largest expenditure for operation and maintenance in any year of the city's history was $3,690,100 in 1907.

More instructive, because making allowance for the growth of population, is the record of per-capita expenditure. The original per-capita expenditure of approximately $2.50 in 1833 grew to $3.50 in 1850, to $7.33 in 1860, and to $12.12 in 1870. This upward movement culminated with an expenditure of $16.06 in 1878, the close of what we may fairly term the period of extravagance, and was followed by a sharp fall to $12.56 in the following year. During the dozen years, 1879–90, expenditures for operation and maintenance showed no marked tendency to increase more rapidly than population, the per-capita figure for the last-named year being $12.99. With 1891 begins another period of increase which reaches a new high level of $18.02 in 1896, followed by a decline

to $16.62 in 1902, and since that year by a gradual rise to $17.69 in 1907.

During the years previous to 1889, when for the first time the revenue from the waterworks equaled the expenditure for the operation and maintenance of the system, including the interest on the debt incurred in its construction, an additional burden was thrown on the general revenues of the city. During the years 1872–79 this added expenditure for operation and maintenance was from $1.00 to $1.50 per capita each year. After 1879 it gradually declined. By 1885 it did not exceed forty cents per capita.

It will be noticed that the periods of marked increase of per-capita expenditures for operation and maintenance correspond on the whole with the periods of large expenditures for construction. The explanation of this correspondence is doubtless to be found in the fact that the same industrial conditions and state of public sentiment which lead to large expenditures for improvements incline also to generous appropriations for the running expenses of the government. There is noticeable, however, a marked difference between the years following the periods of rapidly rising expenditures in the seventies and nineties. In the years following the earlier period there was a marked reduction in expenditures for operation and maintenance, accompanying the reduction of expenditures for construction, while corresponding reduction in the years following the increase of the nineties was much less, a difference probably due to the fact that considerations of politics, and what may fairly be called extravagance, entered more largely into the increase of the earlier period, while an intelligent demand for more efficient and extended service

was more important in the later period. Reaction against extravagance is desirable and inevitable. Reaction against efficiency and intelligent extension of service on the part of the city government is not to be expected, and it is much more probable that we shall see a slight increase rather than a decrease in the per-capita expenditures for operation and maintenance in the immediate future.

A more comprehensive view of the growth of this class of expenditures, as well as of the relative importance at different periods of the various items which enter into it, is furnished by the following tables, in the first of which expenditures of the various departments are grouped according to certain general purposes,[1] while the second shows the expenditures of the more important individual departments.

Worthy of note in connection with these tables is the growth in the relative importance of expenditures for education during the last thirty years. The considerable increase in expenditures for the care of the dependent classes in 1907 as compared with 1900 is due to an increase of from $8,000 to $55,000 in grants made to hospitals. This class of expenditure is bound to increase in the future as a result, not of increasing need, but of more adequate provision for the needs of the community by the city, which is now erecting an extensive hospital for the treatment of contagious diseases.

Sources of municipal revenue.—The main reliance for revenue has always been the general-property tax and, if

[1] The chief items grouped under "Protection, Person, and Property" are expenditures for the police and fire departments and the municipal courts. The chief items grouped under "Well-being and Convenience" are expenditures for streets and bridges, lighting, sewers, parks, cemeteries, and the care of health.

EXPENDITURES FOR OPERATING AND MAINTENANCE, CLASSIFIED BY GENERAL PURPOSES

Actual Expenditures in Dollars

	Population	General Executive and Legislative Purposes	Financial Administration	Protection of Person and Property	Well-being and Convenience	Educational Purposes	Care of Dependent Classes	Interest	Unclassified	Total
1833	18,600	1,900	.....	5,900	13,400	6,200	8,800	5,400	4,800	46,400
1850	41,513	3,000	1,900	19,800	42,300	38,500	24,400	12,700	2,500	145,100
1860	50,666	8,100	5,900	109,500	77,800	70,800	21,500	71,500	5,700	370,800
1870	68,904	16,500	12,700	243,300	252,800	155,600	36,300	96,900	21,500	835,600
1878	103,160	30,300	23,300	419,100	442,800	287,100	70,500	251,400	132,300	1,656,800
1880	104,857	33,800	20,200	323,700	351,500	224,900	42,600	235,500	22,400	1,254,600
1890	132,146	51,000	31,900	465,900	529,000	354,100	60,900	187,400	35,800	1,716,000
1900	198,635	90,700	58,000	766,400	866,100	743,300	74,000	410,700	35,300	3,044,500
1907	208,635	106,600	62,500	846,700	1,009,300	995,100	125,100	507,000	37,800	3,690,100

Per-Capita Expenditures in Dollars

1833	.....	0.10	....	0.32	0.72	0.33	0.47	0.29	0.26	2.50
1850	.....	.07	0.05	0.48	1.02	0.93	.59	0.30	.06	3.50
1860	.....	.16	.12	2.16	1.54	1.40	.43	1.41	.11	7.33
1870	.....	.24	.18	3.53	3.67	2.26	.53	1.41	.31	12.13
1878	.....	.29	.23	4.06	4.29	2.78	.68	2.44	1.28	16.06
1880	.....	.32	.19	3.09	3.35	2.15	.41	2.25	.21	11.97
1890	.....	.38	.24	3.53	4.00	2.68	.46	1.42	.27	12.99
1900	.....	.52	.33	4.36	4.93	4.23	.42	2.34	.20	17.34
1907	.....	.51	.30	4.06	4.84	4.77	.60	2.43	.18	17.69

Percentage of Total

1833	.....	4.1	...	12.7	28.9	13.4	18.9	11.5	10.3	100.
1850	.....	2.0	1.2	13.6	29.2	26.6	16.8	8.7	1.7	100.
1860	.....	2.2	1.6	29.5	21.0	19.1	5.8	19.3	1.5	100.
1870	.....	2.0	1.5	29.2	30.3	18.6	4.3	11.6	2.6	100.
1878	.....	1.8	1.4	25.3	26.7	17.3	4.3	15.2	8.0	100.
1880	.....	2.7	1.6	25.8	28.0	17.9	3.4	18.8	1.8	100.
1890	.....	2.9	1.8	27.2	30.8	20.6	3.6	10.9	2.1	100.
1900	.....	3.0	1.9	25.2	28.4	24.4	2.4	13.5	1.2	100.
1907	.....	2.9	1.7	22.9	27.4	27.0	3.4	13.7	1.0	100.

EXPENDITURES FOR SPECIFIC DEPARTMENTS

ACTUAL EXPENDITURES IN DOLLARS

	Police Department	Fire Department	Streets	Lighting	Sewers	Health	Parks	Schools
1833....	4,100	1,800	6,500	1,700	.....	2,900	.....	6,200
1850....	9,900	7,900	31,200	6,500	.....	600	.....	37,400
1860....	43,100	39,300	34,500	28,400	.....	2,400	1,000	68,200
1870....	123,600	54,100	118,700	88,000	900	5,200	1,200	151,900
1878....	231,100	132,700	151,900	142,600	15,600	13,600	8,400	274,400
1880....	188,800	113,800	108,200	104,600	14,200	11,300	10,000	221,600
1890....	239,900	196,600	165,100	154,500	19,400	28,300	17,800	341,500
1900....	361,100	363,900	235,300	299,200	68,400	60,900	50,200	724,800
1907....	405,000	421,400	309,400	277,300	132,800	76,700	55,200	952,700

PER-CAPITA EXPENDITURES IN DOLLARS

1833....	0.22	0.10	0.35	0.09	...	0.16	...	0.33
1850....	0.24	0.19	0.75	0.16	...	.01	...	0.90
1860....	0.85	0.78	0.68	0.56	...	.05	0.02	1.35
1870....	1.79	0.79	1.72	1.28	0.01	.07	.02	2.20
1878....	2.32	1.33	1.52	1.43	.16	.14	.08	2.75
1880....	1.80	1.09	1.03	1.00	.14	.11	.10	2.11
1890....	1.82	1.49	1.25	1.17	.15	.21	.13	2.58
1900....	2.06	2.07	1.34	1.70	.37	.35	.29	4.13
1907....	1.94	2.02	1.48	1.32	.64	.37	.26	4.57

we omit consideration of the waterworks, there is no indication that it is diminishing in relative importance, notwithstanding the development of other forms of taxation during the last forty years. If we divide the city's history into eight periods, the first covering the years 1833 to 1840, the last, the years 1901 to 1907, and the others the six intervening decades, we find that this tax furnished the following percentages of the total revenue, other than from waterworks, loans, and certain extraordinary items, such as sale of land or donations, occurring in a few years: 1833–40, 77 per cent.; 1841–50, 85 per cent.; 1851–60, 78 per cent.; 1861–70, 75 per cent.; 1871–80, 78 per cent.; 1881–90 82 per cent.; 1891–1900, 77 per cent.; 1901–7, 80 per cent.

While recognizing that the general-property tax has furnished the bulk, as well as a very uniform percentage, of the city's revenue, the fact should not be overlooked that the character of the tax itself has undergone important

changes, the general nature of which is disclosed in the following table:

ASSESSED VALUE OF PROPERTY IN THE YEARS STATED

	Real Estate			Personal Estate			Total		Tax Rate per $100 for Municipal Purposes
	Actual Valuation; 000 Omitted	Per Cent. of Total	Per Capita	Actual Valuation; 000 Omitted	Per Cent. of Total	Per Capita	Actual Valuation; 000 Omitted	Per Capita	
1833	$ 7,048	55.9	$ 379	$ 5,570	44.1	$ 300	$ 12,618	$ 678	$ 0.317
1850	17,833	55.8	430	14,127	44.2	340	31,960	770	0.50
1860	37,000	63.8	733	21,042	36.2	416	58,132	1,149	0.502
1870	52,512	56.4	762	40,565	43.6	589	93,080	1,351	1.12
1874	81,040	65.5	859	42,643*	34.5	452	123,683	1,311	1.25
1880	88,012	75.9	840	27,910	24.1	266	115,921	1,106	1.17
1890	104,684	74.4	792	35,933	25.6	272	140,617	1,064	1.28
1900	149,095	77.6	849	43,022	22.4	245	192,117	1,094	1.43
1907	172,545	74.8	827	58,139	25.2	279	230,684	1.106	1.47

*The highest valuation of personal estate previous to 1905 was in 1868, $43,618,100, equal to $690 per capita.

The scope of this article does not permit an attempt to analyze the causes of all the changes which this table discloses. In a general way they are evidently connected with the movement of prices, and business conditions. Changes in tax laws and in their administration have also played a part. There are, however, two striking facts to which attention should be called as bearing on the ability of the general-property tax to meet the financial needs of a growing city: first, the marked fall in the valuation of personal property after 1874 as a result of which the per-capita valuation of personal property is today less than one-half of what it was in 1870, less than one-third of what it was in 1868, and real estate has come to bear three-fourths instead of five-ninths of the burden, its approximate portion prior to 1870; second, the failure of the per-capita valuation of real estate itself to increase since 1874. Per-capita expenditures in a growing and prosperous city

are practically certain to increase. In the absence of a rising per-capita basis of assessment these increasing expenditures can be met only by an increase in the rate of taxation, already confiscatory as applied to certain classes of property, or by a change in the method of taxation and the development of new sources of revenue.

The following table shows what other sources of revenue have been and are now available and indicates their importance at different periods relatively to the tax on property. The year 1875 is introduced as showing the culmination of the period of rising expenditures of the seventies.

An examination of this table shows that while the percentage of total revenue yielded by the general-property tax has been remarkably constant, there has been a marked change in the sources of the balance of the revenue. The increase of revenue from sources other than taxation, such as penalties and costs, rents, income from investments (other than sinking funds), payment for services rendered and goods furnished by the city, interest on bank balances, and grants from other political bodies, while it has been continuous, has not during the last thirty years kept pace with the increase of total revenue or, on the whole, with the growth of population. The relative falling-off in the yield from these sources of revenue has, however, been compensated by the growth of forms of taxation other than the general-property tax. These forms of taxation include fees, registry and poll taxes, licenses, special assessments, and franchise taxes, of which the last three have furnished the bulk of the revenue.

Liquor licenses have been a source of revenue throughout the whole period of municipal existence, with the

REVENUE

	Taxation									Sources Other than Taxation			Total Revenue	
	General Property Tax			Other Taxes			Total Taxes							
	Actual Amount	Per Capita	Percentage of total revenue	Actual Amount	Per Capita	Percentage of total revenue	Actual Amount	Per Capita	Percentage of total revenue	Actual Amount	Per Capita	Percentage of total revenue	Actual Amount	Per Capita
1833	$ 38,500	$ 2.07	79	$ 2,400	$0.13	5	$ 40,900	$ 2.20	84	$ 7,800	$0.42	16	$ 48,700	$ 2.62
1850	136,400	3.29	84	1,900	0.05	1	138,300	3.33	86	23,300	0.56	14	161,600	3.89
1860	431,800	8.53	81	11,900	0.24	2	443,700	8.77	84	86,400*	1.71	16	530,100	10.48
1870	918,600	13.33	74	164,000	2.38	13	1 082,600	15.71	88	152,600*	2.21	12	1,235,200	17.92
1875	1,541,800	15.31	71	377,300	3.75	17	1,919,100	19.06	88	241,700*	2.40	11	2,160,800	21.45
1880	1,417,200	13.52	80	190,100	1.81	11	1,607,300	15.34	91	163,000	1.56	9	1,770,300	16.90
1890	1,797,300	13.61	80	281,900	2.13	12	2,079,200	15.74	92	178,500	1.35	8	2,257,700	17.09
1900	2,788,200	15.88	80	445,900	2.54	13	3,234,100	18.42	94	219,200	1.25	6	3,453,300	19.69
1907	3,302,000	15.83	78	537,800	2.58	13	3,839,800	18.40	92	338,000†	1.62	8	4,177,800	20.02

* The rapid increase in this class of revenue is due largely to exceptional and temporary causes. In 1851 the city exchanged $500,000 of its 6 per cent. bonds for an equal amount of 7 per cent. bonds of the Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill Railroad. The bonds were finally paid by the railroad in 1879. During their continuance the city received approximately $35,000 each year in interest. The great increase in expenditures and loans during the seventies resulted in the carrying of large balances. In 1875 the city received $34,100 from interest on deposits in banks. In 1850 the city established a reform school, from which it derived some income on account of the sale of products made in the school and from board paid by the state on account of offenders committed by it to the school, the income from these sources amounting to $14,500 in 1860, $39,300 in 1870, and $33,500 in 1875. The school proved, however, a very expensive institution to maintain and was abandoned in 1879. In connection with the development of the Brook Street district, the city acquired considerable property, a portion of which it rented until disposed of. An annual income of from $15,000 to $25,000 was derived from this source during the years 1874–82.

† Receipts from this source in 1907 were unusually large on account of payments by the street-railway company on account of widening and improving streets. Such payments should perhaps be classed as taxes, but it is impossible to distinguish them from other receipts of the department of public works on account of work done for private parties. In 1907 they probably amounted to $100,000.

exception of some twenty years when the attempt has been made to enforce prohibition or to confine licenses to tavern licenses. Before 1867, however, rates were low, a portion, varying from one-half to three-fourths, went to the state and the yield to the city was not important. In 1867 was passed what for the time was a high-license law, the rate for first-class wholesale or retail licenses being $350. Notwithstanding the fact that the state took half the revenue, the city's income from this source now became an important item, the yield in 1870 being $48,500. Rates were again raised in 1875, and in 1889, after the abandonment of three years' experiment with prohibition. Under the last-mentioned act the rates for manufacturers, and for wholesalers with right to sell at retail, ranged from $500 to $1,000, and a first-class retail license was $400. At the same time the state's portion was reduced to one-fourth. Under this law the revenue rose to $150,700 in 1890, as compared with $66,700 in 1885 under the old law, to $156,500 in 1900 and $190,825 in 1907.[1]

Revenue has also been derived from numerous other licenses of a miscellaneous character, but their financial importance has been small although it has increased somewhat during recent years. The yield from these licenses in 1880 was $8,500; in 1890, $16,800; in 1900, $39,000; in 1907, $53,500.

The system of special assessments for streets has never been satisfactorily developed in Providence. An act of 1854 authorized the assessing against the property bene-

[1] By act of this year (1908) the number of licenses is limited to one for each five hundred inhabitants and the city is permitted to raise the tax for manufacturers and wholesalers to $1,500 and for first-class retail licenses to $1,000. If this is done it should result in an increased revenue. In recent years there has been about one license for each four hundred of population.

fited of one-half of the value of land taken for streets, and in 1871 the proportion was increased to three-fourths. The administrative details of the system were not, however, satisfactorily worked out and attempts to apply the act involved delay and sometimes serious financial loss to the city. The system was also persistently opposed by real-estate owners, who, under the franchise laws of Rhode Island, controlled the city council. With the exception of the ten years 1868–77 when 31 per cent. (rising as high as 36 per cent. for the years 1869–75) of the cost of street-construction was met by special assessments, and of three or four years during the period since 1877, income from this source has been a negligible quantity and has entirely disappeared since 1900. As a result of these conditions the burden of both the acquisition of land for street purposes and the expense of construction has fallen on the general revenue. The cost of construction of sidewalks, including curbing, has, however, long been assessed against abutting owners.

As early as 1869 a law, passed primarily with reference to drains but anticipating the construction of sewers just about to begin, authorized the assessment against estates benefited of not exceeding three-fourths of the cost of constructing drains and sewers, the benefit to be estimated by a committee of three to be appointed by the board of aldermen. In 1873 the basis of assessment was changed to sixty cents per front foot and one cent per square foot of abutting estates, the tax on area not to cover land more than one hundred and fifty feet back from the street. In this form the law was fought in the courts, and the revenue from assessments held up, but it was finally sustained in substance and still furnishes the principle upon which

assessments are made. The principle of special assessments not being applicable to the construction of trunk and intercepting sewers and precipitation tanks, necessitated by the development of the system, the percentage of the total cost of sewer construction covered by such assessments has shown considerable variation. Dividing the years covered by construction into three periods, 1871–90, 1891–1900, and 1901–7, the second being the period of largest proportionate expenditure for the items above mentioned, we find that in the first period 31.2 per cent. of the cost of construction was covered by assessments; in the second, 25.5 per cent.; in the third, 35.2 per cent. During the four years 1904–7, 43 per cent. was so covered. Large revenues from street assessments in 1870 ($71,500) and 1875 ($113,300) and from sewer assessments in 1875 ($91,000) are the chief factors in explaining the large yield of taxes other than the general-property tax in these years as compared with those preceding and following.

The most significant of the new taxes are the franchise taxes. When, beginning with the year 1863, street-railroad companies were authorized to lay rails, certain obligations to pave and maintain the whole or a portion of the streets in which they operated, and in one or two instances fixed annual payments, small in amount, were imposed on the roads. These payments were, however, fought by the roads and from time to time commuted by the city until 1881, when the city imposed upon the single company which had absorbed the various roads an annual tax of $8,000. In 1891 the legislature as the result of agitation by the railroad, which desired to secure an exclusive franchise for a term of years, as a basis for issuing bonds to provide means for electrifying its road, passed an act

authorizing cities and towns to grant for a period not exceeding twenty-five years, and subject to an annual tax of not exceeding 3 per cent. of gross earnings, exclusive franchises for the use of the streets for the transmission of messages or power or the transportation of passengers. In the following year, before the city and the railroad company had come to any agreement under this act, the legislature amended the charter of the company, giving it for twenty years an exclusive franchise in the streets occupied by it, subject to a tax of 3 per cent. of gross earnings within the city limits for a period of five years and of some percentage, between 3 and 5 per cent., during each succeeding period of five years, the percentage, in case of failure of an agreement between the city and the company to be fixed by arbitrators, the act to go into force when accepted by the city. The city accepted the act and under it the company has paid to the city a franchise tax of 3 per cent. of gross earnings within city limits during the years 1893 to 1897 and 5 per cent. since that date. The company also keeps in repair the space between the rails and for eighteen inches outside and pays for a similar portion of the paving of newly paved streets, as well as a portion of the expense of improvements and widening or extending the streets through which their tracks are laid.

In 1892 the legislature also passed an act granting to the Narragansett Electric Lighting Company, which had secured a monopoly of electric lighting in the city, an exclusive franchise on practically the same terms received by the railroad company. Under this act the company has paid to the city a franchise tax of 3 per cent. of gross earnings within the city during the period 1893–98 and 5 per cent. since that date.

With the gas company the city entered into a contract under the act of 1891, granting to it an exclusive franchise for twenty years subject to a tax of 3 per cent. of gross earnings.

In 1892 the telephone company, in order to obtain permission to build conduits in certain streets, agreed to pay a tax of 1½ per cent. of gross earnings on instruments situated in the city. In 1898 this rate was increased to 3 per cent. as a condition of extending the system of conduits. July 1, 1907, the company was granted an exclusive franchise until December 1, 1913, on condition of a reduction in rates charged to consumers but with no change in the rate of tax.

The growth of revenue from these taxes is shown in the following table:

RECEIPTS FROM FRANCHISE TAXES

	1895	1900	1907
Street railroad	$33,400	$ 63,700	$83,889
Gas company	17,100	21,300	28,663
Electric lighting company	9,000	27,500	43,808
Telephone company	.....	8,600	16,199
	$59,500	$121,100	$172,559

There is little doubt that the existing rates of franchise taxes could be increased consistently with a liberal return on the actual investment in these quasi-public corporations, and it would seem that in this direction, in the introduction of a system of street assessments such as exists in other cities, and possibly in an increased revenue from liquor licenses there is a possibility of supplementing to some extent the dificiencies of the general-property tax.

The waterworks.—To complete our view of the growth of municipal expenditure and the sources of municipal revenue it is necessary to take account of the finances of the waterworks omitted from the previous discussion for reasons there stated. The construction of these works was begun in 1870 under the control of a special commission which continued in office until 1876, when the work of construction as originally planned was completed, although water had been introduced into the city as early as November, 1871. The commission apparently performed its task efficiently, the work of construction being completed for a sum slightly less than the original estimate. During the early years the accounts were not kept so as clearly to distinguish between expenditures for construction and expenditures for operation and maintenance, or between the interest on the floating debt incurred for waterworks and for other municipal purposes. An accurate statement of the finances of the system for these years is, therefore, impossible. As nearly as can be determined, the average annual excess of expenditures for operation and maintenance, including interest, over receipts was about $100,000. This excess reached its maximum, $154,400, in 1877 from which point it declined until in 1889 there was a surplus of $15,000. Since that time, with the exception of the year 1891, when there was a deficit of $56,000, due to extraordinary expenditures charged to maintenance, there has been a surplus in each year. This surplus increased with great steadiness, reaching $102,600 in 1896 and $275,962 in 1904. Since 1897 the surplus has largely exceeded the expenditures for new construction. During the last few years, 1905–7, the apparent surplus was much reduced by large expenditures for a filtration

plant, new pumping engines, and new mains, all of which have been charged to maintenance, nothing whatever being charged to construction during the years 1906 and 1907.

Dividing the history of the system into four periods, the first covering the years to 1876, when construction in accordance with the original plan was completed; the second, the years from that date to 1889, when the enterprise first showed receipts in excess of the expenses of operation and maintenance, including interest on the waterworks debt; the third, the years 1889–95, the years of relatively small surpluses; the fourth, the years 1896–1907, the years of relatively large surpluses, we reach the following results:[1]

	Excess of Revenue over Expense of Operation and Maintenance, Including Interest on Debt	Excess of Revenue over All Expenditures Including Construction	Excess of Expense of Operation and Maintenance, Including Interest, over Revenue	Excess of All Expenditures over Revenue
1870–76	.....	.....	$614,100	$5,153,000
1877–88	.....	.....	833,600	1,780,900
1889–95	$ 124,600	.....	.....	592,100
1896–1907	1,819,600	$1,251,600	.....	.....

It is evident that the waterworks added materially to the financial burden of the years of large expenditures which culminated in 1878. There seems, however, no reason to doubt that they have become a self-supporting enterprise capable of providing for the payment of the debt incurred in their construction and for the future

[1] Stokes in his study of the finances of Providence has attempted to redistribute between operation and maintenance and construction, the expenditures of the early years. His figure for total expenditure also varies, but very slightly, from the official figures. The table in the text is based on Stokes' figures.

extension of the system. In fact, it will be evident from the subsequent discussion that but for the surplus revenue from the waterworks the city would have presented a much less favorable financial showing than it has during recent years.

The relation of revenue to expenditure and the growth of indebtedness.—During the first year of its existence as a municipality, with a valuation of $678 per capita and a tax-rate of 31.7 cents per $100, the revenue of the city from sources other than loans exceeded its expenditures for purposes other than payment of debt by $2,300. At the close of the year the debt of the city stood at $105,600, $4.90 per capita. Notwithstanding a rapidly growing revenue, the result of both a rising per-capita assessment and an increase in the rate of taxation, the income of the city during the next thirty years was practically absorbed by the increasing expenditures for operation and maintenance, while expenditures for construction were met by loans. With a per-capita assessment of $11.49 in 1860, nearly double the amount of 1833, and a tax-rate of 50.2,[1] the net debt of the city in that year amounted to $488,000, $9.64 per capita. As a result of rapidly increasing prices due to a depreciated currency, the per-capita valuation rose in 1865 to $1,476, the highest point ever reached, and was only a little lower, $1,409, in 1869. This rise accompanied by an increase in the rate of taxation to 68 cents in 1865 and 99 cents in 1869 prevented any considerable increase in the debt, notwithstanding the extraordinary expenses incident to the raising of troops, and the larger expenditures for construction in the years immediately following

[1] During the years 1855–59 the rate had been even higher. In 1859 the rate was 75.

the close of the war. The net debt in 1869 stood at $674,492, $10.21 per capita. The conditions of the next decade were distinctly unfavorable for raising by taxation sufficient revenue to make headway against rapid growth of expenditures for operation and maintenance and the enormous expenditures for construction undertaken during that period. With rapidly falling prices and continued industrial depression after 1873, actual valuation of property increased but slowly, and after 1874 actually declined, the valuation of personal property falling from $42,643,000 in that year to $30,699,000 in 1878, while per-capita valuation, both real and personal, rapidly diminished from $1,409 in 1869 to $1,310 in 1874 and to $1,135 in 1878. This fall in valuations was offset by an increase in the rate of taxation to $1.12 in 1870 and $1.25 in 1874, and aided by the considerable assessments for streets and sewers, the revenue from all forms of taxation continued to rise until 1875, as already shown in the table on p. 197. After this year, however, with declining valuations and the falling-off in revenue from special assessments, income rapidly diminished, falling from $2,160,800 in 1875 to $1,803,200 in 1878.

The result of this combination of conditions could not be other than a tremendous increase of indebtedness. The net debt of $674,492, $10.21 per capita, in 1869, grew during the ten years ending in 1878 to $9,590,497, $92.97 per capita. An increase in the rate of taxation from 99 cents to $1.25 accompanied by a ninefold increase in the per-capita indebtedness, involving payments for interest but a few thousand dollars less than the total expenditures of the city for all purposes other than debt-payment in 1865, during a period of ten years, the latter

half of which had been marked by a severe industrial depression, was bound to cause widespread alarm and organized opposition. The outcome of this opposition was the passage by the legislature of the state of the act of April 10, 1878, which forbade any town or city to incur a net debt in excess of 3 per cent. of its assessed valuation or to impose taxes in excess of 1 per cent.[1] of its valuation, except for payment of debt, appropriations to sinking funds, payment of interest and of the state tax. As the net indebtedness of the city at the time of the passage of this act was over 8 per cent. of the assessed valuation, and as it has never been reduced to anything like the limit fixed, the only effect of the act has been to compel the city to obtain the permission of the legislature for all loans increasing its net indebtdeness, a permission which the legislature has as a rule not been slow to grant.

The next decade was a period of retrenchment and debt-payment, brought about by a radical curtailment of expenditures rather than by an increase of revenue. Actual valuation increased but slowly, while per-capita valuation fell from $1,135 in 1878 to $1,084 in 1887, the rate of taxation falling to $1.17 in 1880 and then gradually increasing to $1.33 in 1888. The increase in taxation during the later years of the period combined with economy in expenditure and the increasing income from the waterworks, which had become self-sustaining by the end of the period, made possible a reduction of $1,638,692 in the net debt which stood at $7,951,805, $64.31 per capita, in 1887. The larger expenditures both for operation and maintenance and for construction, which began in 1888 and increased rapidly after 1890, were not met by any

[1] Raised in 1902 to 1½ per cent on solicitation of the city.

appreciable increase in per-capita valuation, which has changed but slightly during the last twenty years, or until 1893, by an increase in the rate of taxation. Indeed, during the years 1889–92 the rate fell to $1.28. In 1893, however, it was raised to $1.40; in 1894, to $1.41; in 1895, to $1.42; and in 1896, to $1.47, where it remained until 1899, an increase not quite sufficient to meet the added interest-charge on the growing debt.

This failure to make adequate provision for increased expenditure through general taxation was compensated to some extent by the increasing revenue of the waterworks and the growing receipts from liquor licenses and franchise taxes. On the whole, provision through the ordinary sources of revenue was much less inadequate in this than in the earlier period of expansion. During the years 1870–78 the expenditure for new construction, including waterworks, was $11,468,400, and the increase in the net debt $8,416,005. During the years 1888–99 the corresponding figures were $15,543,700 and $6,390,362. In 1899 the net debt amounted to $14,342,167, the largest sum it has ever reached. The per-capita debt, however, was $84.57, more than eight dollars less than in 1878.

With a return to moderate expenditures for construction since 1899, although there has been no increase in the rate of taxation,[1] the net debt has been slightly reduced, standing on September 30, 1907, at $13,656,762, approximately $65 per capita, a result made possible mainly by the very considerable increase of revenue from the waterworks. If we leave the waterworks debt out of account there has been since 1899 a considerable increase in the net debt,

[1] During the years 1900–7 the rate has ranged from $1.43 to $1.495. For the last three years it has been $1.47.

namely, from $8,811,186 to $9,703,174. As these have been years of relatively small expenditures for construction, not larger than the city must ordinarily expect to meet from year to year, it would seem that the revenue of the city during the last eight years has hardly been adequate to meet the requirements of a sound system of finance and to keep its debt within the limits which will enable it to meet successfully, without an undue burden of taxation, the demand for large expenditures for construction which are bound to recur in the future as in the past.

The following table covering the years since the beginning of great expenditures for construction will help to throw light on the relation of revenue to expenditure and the changes in the indebtedness at different periods.

	Excess of Expenditures, for All Purposes Other than Sinking Funds and Payment of Debt, over Revenue, Other Than from Loans, (−), or of Revenue over Expenditures (+).	Increase (+) or Decrease (−) of Debt			
		Gross Debt			Net Debt†
		Funded	Floating	Total	
1870–78...	$8,420,500−	$6,397,250+	$2,552,300+	$8,949,550+	$8,416,005+
1879–87...	1,155,600+	1,130,938+	1,953,871−	822,933−	1,638,682−
1888–99...	8,450,400−	8,502,812+	202,444−	8,300,386+	6,390,362+
1900–7 ...	228,000−*	658,000+	43,867+	701,867+	685,405−

* The surplus revenue from the waterworks after meeting all expenses for operation and maintenance, including interest on debt, and for construction was $1,198,000. If, therefore, we should leave the waterworks out of account, the deficiency in the revenue would be increased by this amount.

† The increase of the net debt by an amount less than the deficiency in the revenue (1888–99), its decrease by an amount greater than the surplus revenue (1879–87), and its decrease notwithstanding a deficiency in the revenue (1900–7) are explained by the fact that the sinking funds are invested in municipal securities and that, therefore, a portion of the interest payments included in expenditures go to those funds and reduce the net debt. The reason why from 1870 to 1878 the debt increased by an amount practically the same as the deficiency in revenue is that sinking funds during this period were small and the gain from interest on the city's securities held in these funds was offset by the fact that during this period a considerable quantity of bonds was sold at a discount.

The existing financial system.—The ultimate control of the financial affairs of the city, subject to the laws of the

state regulating taxation and the limitation already referred to on the rate of tax which the city may impose and the amount of debt it may incur, rests with those citizens who pay taxes on property of the value of $134, comprising about 25,000 persons, approximately 44 per cent. of the adult male population, and 58 per cent. of those who have the right to vote for general officers. These citizens alone have the right to vote for members of the city council in whose hands rests the direct control of financial matters. This body composed of two chambers chosen by wards is elected in November and holds office for one year, beginning on January 1, following. The financial year runs from October 1 to September 30.

The council exercises its control through a joint committee on finance composed of five members, one from the board of aldermen and four from the common council. The course of procedure is as follows. Early in the calendar year the heads of the various administrative departments, the board of aldermen, which has charge of the poor department and the department of public health, and the committees in charge of administrative work, present to the city auditor an estimate of expenditures for the fiscal year beginning on October 1, following, exclusive of expenditures provided for by loans already authorized. A large portion of these expenses, including all salaries and expenses for clerk-hire with the exception of the school department, the fire department (other than the board of fire commissioners whose salaries are fixed by ordinance) and the police department (other than the board of police commissioners whose salaries are fixed by law) are fixed by general ordinance or law. While the

appropriation for schools other than the revenue incident to their administration and certain revenues (poll taxes, dog licenses, and a grant in aid of education by the state), appropriated to their use by law, is determined by the council, the control of all expenditures is in the hands of a school committee elected by popular vote. The boards of police commissioners and fire commissioners likewise control the salaries paid in these departments, although the salaries fixed for the fire department must be approved by the council.

These estimates, with the addition of the sums required for sinking funds (exclusive of the sinking fund for the water debt, to which is appropriated by law the excess of revenue from the waterworks over the expenditure for their operation and maintenance and interest on the water debt), interest on the city debt, the state tax, and certain sums which the city has been in the habit of voting in aid of private institutions, are presented by the auditor to the committee on finance and approved by it, with such modifications as it may see fit to make. Most of these estimates are gross, i. e., cover the total expenditures of the department in question. Some, however, are net, i. e., cover the expenditures of the department less the estimated receipts incident to the administration of the department or from sources appropriated by law or ordinance to the uses of the department in question. Furthermore the estimates presented by the auditor on the basis of the department estimate and the estimates as approved by the finance committee do not agree as to the gross and net items. In 1906 the estimates approved by the committee were $239,000 less than the auditor's estimates, but a large portion of this difference, certainly over $100,000, was accounted for

by the fact that items which were gross in the latter were net in the former.[1]

All estimates are for lump sums, i. e., they do not specify the particular purposes within the departments which they cover, although it is the practice of the auditor to submit with his report the estimates presented to him by the departments, in which the purposes of expenditure are given in more or less detail.

On or before the third Monday in March the auditor submits to the council the original estimates, the estimates as approved by the committee on finance, and an estimate of receipts for the ensuing fiscal year "applicable to the ordinary expenses of the city" from all sources other than loans and the general-property tax, together with a statement of the rate of tax, calculated on the basis of the assessed valuation of the preceding year, required to provide the revenue necessary to meet the estimated expenditures as approved by the finance committee. As all but a fraction of 1 per cent. of the taxes assessed are regularly collected, this calculation can be made with a high degree of accuracy. The estimate of receipts contained in the report is, like the estimate of expenditures, net, excluding items of revenue incident to the administration of, or appropriated by law or ordinance to the uses of specific departments.

The summary of the auditor's estimate presented in March, 1908, covering the fiscal year ending September 30, 1909, was as follows:

[1] In modification of this statement it should perhaps be said that except in the case of schools and parks, departmental receipts, the inclusion or exclusion of which constitutes the difference between the gross and net estimates, come for the most part from payment for work done for private individuals, and, consequently, do not affect expenditures for strictly public purposes.

Classification		Amount	Rate per $100
Sinking funds	$282,530.00		
Less sewer assessments to be applied to the payment of sinking funds for sewer loans	45,502.89		
		$ 237,027.11	10.31 cents
State tax		414,000.00	18.00 cents
Interest on city debt		714,220.00	31.04 cents
General expenses	$3,520,716.00		
Less estimated receipts other than taxes	950,500.00		
		2,570,216.00	111.75 cents
To be raised by taxation		$3,935,463.11	171.10 cents
Uncollectible taxes, estimated		.....	1.00 cents
			172.10 cents

No action is taken by the council on this report.

The next step in the financial procedure is taken in May, when the council by joint resolution fixes the rate of taxation for the ensuing year. The rate fixed in May, 1908, was $1.65.[1] In June the assessors complete the valuation on the basis of which the tax is to be assessed. On or before the second Monday in September the committee on finance reports to the council a joint resolution making appropriations for the ensuing fiscal year. These appropriations are, like the estimates, net, in many cases, being a stated sum plus departmental revenues, and, in some instances, the balances on hand at the close of the current year. In the case of some departments a lump sum is appropriated, in the case of others separate amounts for salary and clerk-hire, and for other items.

[1] As the auditor makes his estimate on the basis of the valuation of the preceding year, the council can usually count on a considerable excess of actual revenue over the estimate, due to the increase in valuation. This year, however, the valuation, made after the tax-rate was fixed, owing to the industrial depression shows practically no increase. It would seem, therefore, that the tax must fall considerably short of meeting the expenditures.

Legislative Library Ontario. Dep

The appropriation resolution usually follows closely the estimates presented in March, but the use of net items renders it difficult at the time of passage to say just how closely. This joint resolution when acted on by the council determines in the main the expenditures for the ensuing year, but is modified to a greater or less extent by subsequent resolutions, which, however, usually effect transfers rather than add to the total appropriation.

The taxes become due on October 1 and, if not paid within three weeks, bear interest at 8 per cent. from the date they are due. Payments from the treasury are made only on warrants of the auditor.

By an ordinance of October, 1906, the committee on finance are directed to have the books and accounts of all officers receiving fees or money belonging to the city examined by an expert, and by an ordinance of the present year all officers in receipt of fees not paid into the city treasury are required to report the amount of such fees. The auditor presents to the council a monthly statement showing for each department the amount appropriated, the amount expended, and the unexpended balance of the appropriation. At the close of the year he presents a report setting forth receipts and expenditures in detail.

There can be no question that the use of net items, both in the estimate of receipts and expenditures and the appropriation resolution, is open to objection on the ground that it does not furnish to members of the council the information necessary for an accurate idea either of the city's revenues or the amounts which it is proposed to appropriate for the use of the departments concerned. Nor can there be any question that the whole course of procedure is far from logical. The natural course would be not only

to prepare the estimates of expenditures, and revenue from sources other than taxation, but also to determine the valuation of property before fixing the tax-rate. Only in this way it would seem can a proper adjustment between revenue and expenditure be secured.

That the present practice has worked as well as it has is doubtless due to the fact that municipal revenues are comparatively stable from year to year, that auditors have enjoyed long terms of office, that it has been the practice to keep the membership of the committee on finance as stable as the results of elections permitted and, hence, that those concerned in the making of the budget have had an intimate knowledge of financial conditions and probabilities.

Providence has long followed the practice, established by law, and common to most municipalities, of making in connection with each issue of bonds an annual appropriation to a sinking fund sufficient with the income of such fund to provide for the payment of the bonds at maturity.[1] The only exception to this rule is the water debt, to the sinking fund for which is appropriated the surplus revenue from the waterworks over and above the expenses for operation and maintenance, including interest on the water debt and the balances remaining in any sinking fund after the discharge of the debt for which it was established.

[1] The income from sewer assessments is by law appropriated to the sinking fund for the sewer debt, and diminishes by so much the appropriation from other sources of revenue. The income from premiums on the sale of bonds is always by the law authorizing the loan also applied to the sinking fund for that loan, and, by ordinance, receipts from interest on delinquent taxes and from sales of real estate, as well as balances of appropriations unexpended at the close of the fiscal year (unless reappropriated by the appropriations resolution), go to the board of commissioners of sinking funds to be applied by them to any sinking fund or to the payment of the city's notes.

	Highest City	Lowest City	Median City[h]	Providence	No. of Cities Higher than Providence	No. of Cities Lower than Providence
Valuation	1,072	290	632	1,072	..	24
Rate of tax per $1,000, assessed value municipal purposes	27.93	12.11	18.59	15.00[b]	18	5
Rate of tax per $1,000, estimated real value	22.34	6.28	12.96	15.00	5	19
Income:						
General revenues[f]	34.86[a]	7.26	14.16	17.00	6	18
General-property tax (municipal purposes)	21.53	5.48	11.65	15.43	1	23
Liquor licenses (city's share)	3.72	0.17	1.25	0.95	17	7
Special assessments	9.85	.....	1.75	0.37	20	4
Expenditures:						
Total general and municipal services[g]	22.55	6.13	12.41	16.17	3	21
General government	3.48	0.30	0.86	0.98	9	15
Police	3.13	0.60	1.31	2.08	1	23
Fire	1.95	0.83	1.42	1.95	..	24
Health conservation	0.32	0.06	0.18	0.18[c]	10	12
Sanitation[j]	1.61	0.24	0.69	1.09	4	20
Highways	4.94	0.83	1.72	3.07	2	22
Charities and correction	3.10	.....	0.54	0.54[d]	11	12
Recreation	0.78	0.05	0.31	0.31[e]	11	12
Education	8.76	2.16	4.27	4.44	10	14
Interest (net or corporate)[i]	3.63	0.69	1.90	2.63	5	19
Debt (less sinking funds)	75.59	17.57	46.23	69.46	1	23

NOTE.—Figures in dollars per capita, unless otherwise specified.

[a] Washington, D. C. More than half of this revenue came from subventions by the federal government. The next highest in the list is Denver, $24.13.

[b] The rate in two cities is $15.00.

[c] The expenditure of three cities is $0.18.

[d] The expenditure of two cities is $0.54.

[e] The expenditure of two cities is $0.31.

[f] Receipts from general revenues include receipts from general-property taxes, from special property and business taxes, licenses, poll taxes, and subventions and grants from other political bodies. They do not include special assessments, franchises and other privilege taxes, interest-fees, rents, departmental receipts, revenue from municipal industries or from loans.

[g] Payments for general and municipal-service expenses include the ordinary expenses for operation and maintenance, including interest. They are exclusive of payments for construction, for municipal industrial enterprises, including interest, and for debt reduction.

[h] The median represents the expenditure of that city in the case of which the number of cities having larger expenditures equals the number of cities having smaller expenditures.

[i] Interest on total debt, including debt of industrial undertakings less interest on securities held by city on sinking funds and trust funds. If the debt on account of industrial undertakings be omitted, the showing is somewhat more favorable to Providence, seven cities having a higher and seventeen a smaller expenditure.

[j] Principal items; sewers, street cleaning, refuse disposal.

Notwithstanding large per-capita expenditures and indebtedness, the city has for many years enjoyed excellent credit, the prices of its securities comparing very favorably with those of other municipalities.

Comparison of Providence with other cities.—The finances of cities are so largely influenced by local conditions that an instructive comparison is extremely difficult. The accompanying table is based upon the figures contained in *Bulletin No. 50* of the United States Census Bureau, dealing with the statistics of cities for the year 1904. The comparison is made between Providence and the twenty-four other cities of the country with a population of between 100,000 and 300,000.

An examination of the facts in this table which relate to revenue shows that while Providence is a city of high valuations and heavy taxation so far as the general-property tax is concerned, it has failed to develop liquor licenses and special assessments as sources of revenue to the same extent as most cities of its class. If these sources had yielded in Providence as much as in the median city, its income would have been increased by $350,000.

The table also shows that Providence is a city of large expenditures and heavy indebtedness. While this fact is significant, it is not in itself sufficient to substantiate a charge of extravagance. In passing a final judgment it is necessary to take account of what the city obtains for its expenditure as compared with what other cities obtain for their expenditures. Unfortunately the data for determining this question are not available.

VIII

EDUCATION

BY

GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON. PH.D.

EDUCATION

Public schools.—Roger Williams, who founded Providence in 1636, fully appreciated the value of an education. On his second visit to England he used modern methods of language teaching, for he says, "I taught two young gentlemen, a parliament man's sons, as we teach our children English, by words, phrases, or constant talk." In spite of his education, and his zeal for learning, however, the opportunities for education in Providence developed slowly, and although grants of land for school purposes are mentioned in the records of the latter half of the seventeenth century, little seems to have been accomplished in the way of establishing schools.

William Turpin, the first schoolmaster in Providence, convenanted in 1684 to furnish Peregrine Gardner with board and schooling for one year for six pounds. The following year he petitioned the town for the grant of land made by the settlers for the "use and benefit of a schoolmaster." He asked that it be speedily set aside to "maintain that worthy art of learning." Turpin's efforts to establish a school seem to have met with scant notice, although he was a highly respected citizen as clearly shown by the office with which the town honored him.

Prior to the middle of the eighteenth century a schoolhouse was built, and a committee of three chosen by the the town meeting was appointed to have the care of the town schoolhouse and to select a schoolmaster to teach the school. The town then rented the schoolhouse to this schoolmaster who received a small tuition from each pupil.

The committee chosen by the town were in general "to take the government of the town schoolhouse under their direction, and to appoint proper masters and to give them directions for the government of the schools."

From the year 1800, when the legislature made definite provisions for the establishment of public schools, there was a steady development of the educational system. Nine hundred and eighty-eight pupils were enrolled at the end of the first year, and the amount paid for salaries at that time was $3,200.

The legislative act of 1800 left little power to the school committee and vested the general supervision in the town council. This the council exercised, as shown in the instructions to the masters given preparatory to the visit of the committee.

> First, they shall enjoin upon the Scholars the propriety of appearing neat and clean, and that the Committee expect a general and punctual attendance at the time appointed. Second, that the Scholars in the several Schools be prepared in the first place, to exhibit their Writing and Cyphering Books in good order. Third, that the Masters call upon each Scholar to read a short sentence in that Book which may be used in the class to which such Scholar belongs. Fourth that the Committee may be informed of the progress of the several Scholars in the Art of Spelling, the Masters are desired to direct them to spell one Word each. Fifth, if Time should permit the Committee will hear the Scholars recite passages in Geography, English Grammar, and Arithmetick, and such other select pieces as may be adapted to their several Capacities.

While the act of 1800 was repealed in 1803, the town of Providence continued its schools under the same general conditions until 1828 when an act put the control of the schools under the committee. When the city charter was adopted in 1832, the school committee was elected by the

city council which by ordinance was authorized to appoint a committee of "not less than five nor more than thirty." This method continued until 1854, after which various systems of ward-representation were tried until in 1889 the number of the committee had increased to sixty-three. At that time the number of the committee was reduced to thirty-three, at which number it has since remained. Each of the ten wards is represented by three members whose period of service is three years. The mayor, president of the common council, and chairman of the committee on education of the city council are *ex-officio* members.

As the school-system developed with the growth of town and city, the salaries also increased. In 1800 the total expenditure was $7,843.15; in 1842 it was $16,649, Staples reports in the latter year, for example, that

> the salaries paid to the superintendents and teachers are as follows: To the superintendent, $1,250; and to the principal of the high school $1,250; to each male assistant in high school, $750; to each female assistant, $500; to each master of a grammar school, $800; to each male assistant, $400; to each female assistant, $275; to each preceptress of a primary and secondary school, $250; to each assistant $200; to each master of a school for colored children, $500; to each preceptress, $200; to each male assistant, $250; to each female assistant, $150.

In 1828 when the schools were graded and improved, a recommendation for the establishment of a high school was made. The question was kept before the city council, the school committee, and the voters of the city, until after prolonged discussion the high-school building was finally erected and dedicated in 1843. The influence of the great educators of southern New England, Francis Wayland,

Horace Mann, and Henry Barnard, made itself strongly felt in Providence at this time.

An ordinance dated April 9, 1838, provided that

> The High School shall not at any time contain more than two hundred pupils, of which number not more than one hundred shall be females, except when the number of male pupils shall be less than one hundred; in which case, an additional number of females may be admitted, until the School shall be filled, under such conditions as the School Committee may prescribe.

Even with such restrictions the spirit of advance was evident, for in the same report we read that the school committee were authorized and requested to appoint annually a superintendent of the public schools, who should perform such duties in relation to the public schools as the committee might from time to time prescribe, the superintendent to be subject to removal at any time by the school committee in case of inability or mismanagement.

Under this ordinance Nathan Bishop was in 1839 appointed the first superintendent of the public schools of Providence, and retained this office till 1851, when he was appointed the first superintendent of the public schools of Boston. From 1839 when the first superintendent was appointed, the work of the schools has developed much more uniformly and systematically. In 1845 Henry Barnard could say: "The city of Providence has already gained to itself an extended reputation, and made itself a bright example to many other cities."

Private evening schools were in existence as early as 1800, but public evening schools were not established until 1849. These schools were for many years practically ungraded. From 1890 grading became common. In 1872 the committee on evening schools recommended an

Hope College
Erected 1822

The Carrie Tower

University Hall
Erected 1770

Slater Hall

Rhode Island Hall

BROWN UNIVERSITY—FRONT CAMPUS

evening high school, but the plan thus proposed was not adopted until 1890 when an "Advanced Evening School" was established. In 1894 a further step was taken in the establishment of an evening high school with courses identical with those of the day schools.

Although progress has not been uniform, and financial depressions have placed unfortunate restrictions upon plans for advance from time to time, the school system of Providence on the whole has developed satisfactorily as the city has grown. Thus as the number of pupils has multiplied, the number of teachers, superintendents, supervisors, and special instructors has likewise increased. At the same time the work has gradually become specialized and where once the schoolwork was wholly within one building, now many buildings are often required for schools of a single grade.

Other educational institutions.—Brown University, prior to 1804 Rhode Island College, incorporated in 1764, was in 1770 transferred to Providence, and from that time became an important factor in the intellectual life of the town. In the early days of the university, the presidents of the university were members of the school committee. Presidents Manning, Maxcy, Messer, Wayland, and Caswell were among those elected to membership, and many professors have since served in a similar capacity. The early superintendents were at the same time instructors in the university. The convenient location of the university, near the center of the city, has made the relations with other educational undertakings of the town much closer than is often possible elsewhere.

One of the oldest educational institutions in the city is the school long known as the "Friends' School," now

Moses Brown School, established at Portsmouth in 1784. In 1814 the school was moved to Providence to occupy a farm given by Moses Brown, and it is now both a boarding and day school under the general direction of the Friends.

The University Grammar School established by James Manning at Warren was transferred to Providence with the college in 1770 and continued as an independent enterprise until near the end of the nineteenth century, when it became a part of the school long known as "Mowry and Goff's" under the name of the University School, which was later absorbed in the Moses Brown School.

Other private schools for boys and private schools for girls have been established and have done or are doing good service for the intellectual life of Providence. The development and improvement of the high schools has made it far less necessary to resort to private instruction than in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Rhode Island was the fourth state to establish a normal school. This school was founded in 1852, although its life has not been continuous, being suspended from 1865 to 1871. The school, located in Providence and primarily designed to prepare teachers for work in the elementary and kindergarten grades, has given an uplift to the teaching in the city both by indirect, and in later years by direct, relations to the educational system. The commodious building which the school has occupied since 1898 has made it possible to provide both practical and theoretical training for those who are looking forward to teaching as a profession.

The Rhode Island School of Design, incorporated in

1877, was opened in 1878. According to the *Year Book* of the School,

> the broad principles stated in its constitution well express the character of the work undertaken by the Corporation and Instructors. These purposes are: First, the instruction of artisans in drawing, painting, modeling, and designing, that they may successfully apply the principles of art to the requirements of trade and manufactures. Second, the systematic training of students in the practice of art, that they may understand its principles, give instruction to others, or become artists. Third, the general advancement of art education by the exhibition of works of art and art studies.

The school awards a diploma for the satisfactory completion of regular courses in drawing, painting, modeling, and architecture, in decorative, mechanical, textile, and jewelry design, and also affords opportunity for the special study of drawing and design by any person competent to enter its day or evening classes. The museum of the school is practically the only public art museum in the city, and its galleries are opened to the public daily throughout the year.

Libraries.—The Providence Public Library (124,000 volumes) was opened for use in 1878. Since that time it has aimed to meet in the broadest possible manner the intellectual needs of the community. The library management has made co-operation its watchword, and as the general assumption has been that both children and adults would read, a special effort has been put forth to make the reading of each most valuable.

The library has a periodical room well supplied with the leading periodicals, serials, annuals, etc., a children's library which is in close co-operation with the city schools, and a standard library which gives an opportunity to make the acquaintance of the world's great masters under

most fitting environment. There are also special collections, such as the industrial library, the art library, the music library, the educational and the medical libraries. The library also contains a lecture-room which is regularly used for exhibits and for meetings of societies whose objects are consistent with the purposes for which the library exists.

The use of the library as a source of information rather than simply a place from which to draw books has been particularly marked. From the very beginning the library has posted daily reference lists upon topics of current interest. These lists have served both as guides and as inspiration to readers. This idea has spread and become quite general among the libraries of the country. The "information desk" supported by an excellent reference library performs a service to the city, and even beyond, which is of the greatest value.

The library meets the needs of physicians as custodian of the Rhode Island Medical Society's important collection and serves in a similar manner the educators of the state by caring for the Barnard Club Library, a memorial to Henry Barnard, one of Rhode Island's foremost educators.

The library is not a public library in the sense that it is entirely supported by public funds, for more than one-half of its expenses are paid from income from endowment and private contributions. The library has, however, been managed for the highest interest of the public and with a view to the fullest development of the intellectual life of the city. Since 1900 the library has been fittingly housed and rendered increasingly efficient through the possession of a beautiful home made possible by the far-seeing generosity of John Nicholas Brown.

Other valuable collections are the Library of Brown University (150,000 volumes) which naturally devotes itself to the needs of the university though it co-operates as far as possible with the other libraries of the city; the Library of the Providence Athenaeum (68,000 volumes), a private library largely composed of works of general literature; the Library of the Rhode Island Historical Society (22,000 volumes), with special facilities for research along historical lines and also containing some special collections; the State Law Library (29,000 volumes), a large collection of legal books which are accessible under slight restrictions; the State Library, located in the State House, containing official documents and works relating to history and political science; and finally, the John Carter Brown Library (15,000 volumes), a unique and priceless collection of Americana.

The school committee and administration.—The school committee of Providence is a very large body numbering in all thirty-three. Of important cities having large committees, New York has forty-six, Philadelphia has forty-two, and Pittsburgh has thirty-nine. Other large cities have smaller committees, Indianapolis and Minneapolis, for example, with about the same population as Providence have committees of five and seven numbers respectively.

While the school committee is thus cumbersome and unwieldy and while its eighteen sub-committees create a certain disintegration in management, yet under the present excellent by-laws the evil effects of so large a body are to a considerable extent reduced and certain advantages consequent on wide representation are strongly marked.

The Providence school committee is elective, three

members being chosen from each of the ten wards for three-year terms, one member from each ward retiring each year. To the thirty thus chosen the mayor, president of the common council and chairman of the committee on education of the city council are added as members *ex officio*. The election by wards is not as common in the United States as formerly, and the general movement is toward a somewhat small committee chosen by popular election at large. Indianapolis thus elects for a four-year term, three and two members biennially and Minneapolis elects for a six-year term two members biennially.

The school committee meets for organization on the first Tuesday in December, and holds a regular meeting thereafter on the last Friday of each month of the school year. At the first meeting in December the members elect a president who immediately appoints the standing committees. These sub-committees, with the exception of the committee on relations to the city council consist of five elective members each. The committee on relations to the city council consists of three members *ex officio* and two elective members appointed by the president. The president is a member *ex officio* of the standing committees, but he has a vote only in the executive committee of which he is chairman.

As defined by the law of October 2, 1896, the school committee of Providence has power to employ the superintendent and teachers, has general charge and custody of all school buildings and school property, manages and regulates the schools, and draws all orders for the payment of their expense from the money appropriated by the city council for the support of public schools, with the understanding, however, that the city council shall control the

expenditure of all sums appropriated for the purchase of land for school purposes, or for the improvement thereof, or for the construction and repair of school buildings. It will be observed that there is a division of powers by which the personnel of the school-system is left in the hands of the school committee while the material is left in the hands of the city council. Such division of powers naturally produces at times lack of harmony not conducive to effective administration, though it may on some accounts be expedient.

The business of the school committee of Providence is distributed among eighteen subcommittees as follows: Committee on accounts, committee on annual report, committee on apportionment, committee on by-laws, committee on drawing, committee on education of backward children, committee on evening schools, committee on grammar and primary schools, committee on high schools, committee on hygiene, committee on music, committee on penmanship, committee on private schools, committee on relations to the city council, committee on schoolhouses, committee on summer schools, committee on textbooks. In a general way the duties of these subcommittees are indicated by their names. As an example of the powers intrusted to them by the general by-laws, however, one section relating to the important part of the school system, the grammar and primary schools, may be given.

Article 4, section 9: The committee on grammar and primary schools shall have the general supervision of all the grammar, primary, transition, and kindergarten schools, and shall recommend the compensation to be paid to teachers therein. They shall examine into the qualifications of all applicants for positions as teachers in said schools, and shall furnish the superintendent a list of the names of all applicants who are eligible under the rules of the school

committee. They shall also examine into and report to the school committee on the qualifications of all persons nominated for permanent positions as teachers in said schools. All matters relating to such schools shall be referred to them before action thereon shall be taken by the school committee. *Section 19:* The several standing committees shall, at all times, be subject to the direction of the school committee, notwithstanding the subject of such direction has been specifically placed in the control of the special committee by the provision of these by-laws.

The members of the committee from each ward constitute a ward committee which according to Article IV, section 20, is to give special care to the educational interests of the ward. These ward committees exercise a general supervision over all grammar, primary, and kindergarten schools in their respective wards, and visit or cause to be visited all such schools at least once during the term. At the regular meeting of the school committee at the close of each term they report in writing upon the condition of the grounds, buildings, and schools in their respective wards, and from time to time submit to the school committee or to the several subcommittees any suggestions that may have occurred to them in the interest of better control and management of these schools.

Administrative and teaching force.—For the management and instruction of these schools containing more than 26,000 pupils, there are employed one superintendent, two assistant superintendents, one director of kindergartens and schools for backward children, eight directors and assistants in special branches, and seven hundred and thirty-nine teachers. The special branches are music, drawing, physical training, and penmanship.

While the general duties and powers of the school committee and its subcommittees are as set forth above, the

Providence committee intrust unusually large powers to the superintendent as the executive officer of the committee. The tenure of the superintendent is also reasonably assured. Most large cities elect the superintendent for a definite period varying from one to six years, although Cleveland and Washington do not limit the term of service by years.

The superintendent also makes all nominations of teachers, the respective subcommittee in charge of the particular school to which a teacher is nominated passes upon the teacher's qualifications, and the candidate's name then comes before the general committee for election. The superintendent assigns, transfers, and may suspend or dismiss any teacher whose services are unnecessary or unsatisfactory, besides having the other duties customarily intrusted to a superintendent. Thus the scope of the work is larger than in most cities.

Principals of high and grammar schools must be graduates of college or polytechnic schools. Nomination for these positions must be submitted by the superintendent to the subcommittee in charge and to the general committee at least ten days before the meeting at which the nomination is to be voted upon. Similar procedure must be followed in case of nomination for directors of any special branch. The duties are those of general supervision of the schools in their immediate charge.

In Providence particular care has been taken to obtain efficient teachers. The by-laws wisely make certain persons ineligible. Article VII, section 15, for example, declares:

> No teacher shall be appointed to any school who is a member of the school committee, or to whom any member of the school com-

mittee is related by either blood or marriage, as husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, or first cousin; but the provisions aforesaid shall not apply to the appointment or promotion of teachers employed in the school previous to the election or appointment of a member of the school committee who is related to such teacher as hereinbefore provided.

All nominations for positions as teachers in the grammar, primary, transition, kindergartens, or evening schools must be made from an approved list of applicants. No person except a graduate from a college or polytechnic school is eligible for election as teacher in a high school. After a successful year or longer time of probation teachers may be elected on permanent tenure to hold office until suspended or dismissed under the provisions of the by-laws.

In recent years a system for training teachers has been developed, particularly through co-operation with other educational institutions located within the city limits. Of these institutions Brown University and the Rhode Island School of Design are under the management of private corporations, and the Rhode Island Normal School is a state institution. The result of this co-operation in the training of teachers has been to establish a system that takes the highest rank. The aim of co-operation with Brown University is to train teachers for the high and grammar schools, requiring the completion of the college course and a year of training in the high schools for high-school work, and a year of training in the grammar schools for grammar-school work. For the elementary grades a normal-school education and a half-year of state training and a half-year of city training is required.

The nature of this co-operation between educational institutions located in Providence and the public schools

of Providence is shown in the following sections of an agreement with Brown University:

DIRECTOR

1. The professor of the theory and practice of education at Brown University shall be director of the Training Department in the Providence high schools.

2. He shall confer with the principals of the high schools and the supervising teachers, as to the arrangement of hours and classes assigned to the student-teachers.

6. The director shall have authority to teach classes assigned to student-teachers, and to confer with the principal of the school in cases of discipline arising under the work of the student-teachers.

SUPERVISING TEACHERS

7. Supervising teachers shall be nominated by the professor of education from the regular teachers employed in the high schools, and before appointment shall be approved by the Committee on High Schools.

9. They shall receive from the university fifty dollars for each student-teacher of the first type assigned to them for the full time of such student-teacher and at that rate for any shorter period.

10. Teachers who supervise the work of student-teachers of either type shall be entitled to attend any courses of instruction given by the professor of education free of charge, but work so pursued shall not count toward a degree unless tuition is paid.

STUDENT-TEACHERS IN GENERAL

11. All candidates must hold the degree of A.B. or B.P. from a reputable college.

12. All candidates must be satisfactory to the superintendent of public schools, and to the professor of education in Brown University.

13. Student-teachers shall take the courses in education arranged for them at Brown University. The same shall count as a major for the A.M. degree if the student-teacher desires.

14. Student-teachers who successfully complete their work in the schools and at the college, shall receive a teacher's diploma from

the university. Weakness in discipline or scholarship shall be sufficient cause for withholding the diploma.

STUDENT-TEACHERS OF THE FIRST TYPE

16. The Committee on High Schools shall appoint each year not less than four student-teachers (two of each sex unless otherwise agreed by the committee and the professor of education).

17. Such student-teachers shall be appointed by the Committee on High Schools from a list of candidates who fulfil the conditions specified above.

18. They shall receive pay from the city for their services as teachers at the rate of $400 per annum, and be subject to the same rules as other teachers, except as to the amount of work. Their work shall be arranged according to the plan now or hereafter adopted by the Committee on High Schools.

STUDENT-TEACHERS OF A SECOND TYPE

19. Student-teachers of a second type may be appointed; they shall accomplish in the high school at least one hundred and twenty-five hours of observation, individual instruction, and class-teaching under the supervision of competent teachers, to whom they shall render proper assistance in return for the instruction given.

21. They shall take the same courses at Brown as the other student-teachers.

22. They shall not receive any pay from the city for their services.

23. They shall be appointed by the professor of education and confirmed by the Committee on High Schools.

24. When they have completed their courses and receive a teacher's diploma from the university, they shall have the same status before the Committee on High Schools as if they had been student-teachers of the first type.

PRACTICE TEACHING FOR SENIORS

25. A limited number of seniors taking the course in education at Brown, may be allowed to observe and teach in the grammar schools; the mode and method of their work shall be first determined by the superintendent and the professor of education.

The Rhode Island School of Design in September, 1901, and the Rhode Island Normal School in April, 1907, entered into somewhat similar agreements with the school committee of Providence.

Compensation.—In the amounts paid as salaries to individuals and to teachers in general as shown in the report of the National Education Association in 1905, Providence took a high rank among cities of its class, and, in consequence, excellent teachers have been secured for the city. As part of a movement that affected a large part of the United States, since 1905, there has been a general advance in the salaries of the teachers of Providence. The increase in Providence placed the salaries of teachers below the eighth grade at $500 for the first year of service and provided for an annual increase of $50 per year up to a maximum of $750. A system of payment according to term of service is usual in all grades. High-school teachers generally begin at a salary of $700 and may reach $1,800. Principals, special teachers, directors of special branches, receive salaries varying in amounts according to position held and reaching a maximum of $3,000.

Retirement fund and pensions.—By an act of the legislature in 1897 the school committee was empowered to establish a "Public School Teachers' Retirement Fund" to be formed by reserving 1 per cent. of the salaries of all teachers appointed subsequent to the act and of such others as might elect to obtain the benefits of the fund, on condition that no teacher should be assessed more than 1 per cent. of twelve hundred dollars per annum. Provision was made for additions to the fund by donations, legacies, gifts, bequests, or otherwise. The president and

three members of the school committee, the superintendent, the city treasurer, and three representatives chosen by the contributing teachers constitute a board of trustees to have charge of and administer the fund. Thirty years' service by women teachers and thirty-five years' service by men is necessary for retirement with advantages of the fund. The beneficiary is entitled to one-half pay provided this does not exceed six hundred dollars per annum. Provision is also made for those who may be incapacitated without fault of their own after ten years of service.

Sections 4, 5, and 6 of the act of 1897 read:

Every teacher who has annually contributed to said fund in accordance with the provisions of this act for at least five years, and shall have taught in public schools, if a man, not less than thirty-five years, or if a woman, not less than thirty years, twenty years of which service in both cases shall have been in the public schools of said city next preceding the time of retirement, may be retired and shall have the right voluntarily to retire from such service and become a beneficiary under this act; and every such teacher so retired or retiring shall be entitled to an annuity for the remainder of his or her life, to be paid by said board of trustees out of said fund equal to one-half of the salary of such teacher at the time of such retirement, at the same times and in the same proportions as the salaries of teachers are paid: Provided, that the annuity so paid shall in no case exceed six hundred dollars in any one year.

Every teacher in the public schools of said city, who shall have taught continuously therein not less than ten years, and for not less than five years annually contributed to said fund in the manner provided in this act, and has become without the fault of such teacher, mentally or physically incapacitated for such service, may retire or be retired therefrom, and become a beneficiary of said fund in the same manner and to the same extent as provided in section 4 of this act: Provided that such annuity shall cease when such incapacity ceases.

In case the fund should be insufficient to pay the annuities pro-

vided for in section 4 of this act, the board of trustees shall make a ratable distribution among the teachers who may be entitled to annuities under the provisions of this act.

Thus there is in working order in Providence, one of the first cities to establish such a fund for teachers, a system not altogether unlike the allowances under the British act of 1898.

Ten years after the act which established a retirement fund in Providence, the Rhode Island legislature, April 23, 1907, passed an act authorizing a general pension system for the whole state. This act provides for a pension not to exceed five hundred dollars upon retirement of teachers either at the option of employer or voluntarily at the age of sixty. The average salary during the last five years before retiring is taken as the basis in estimating the pension. There is no provision, as in the Providence Retirement Fund, for retirement on account of incapacity. The first section of the law reads:

Any person of either sex who on the passage of this act or thereafter shall have reached the age of sixty years, and who for thirty-five years shall have been engaged in teaching as his principal occupation and have been regularly employed as a teacher in the public schools or in such other schools within this state as are supported wholly or in part by state appropriation and are entirely managed and controlled by the state, twenty-five years of which employment including the fifteen years immediately preceding retirement, shall have been in this state, may at the expiration of a school year, unless his private contract with his employer shall otherwise provide, be retired by his employer or voluntarily retire from active service, and on his formal application shall receive from the state for the remainder of his life an annual pension equal to one-half of his average contractual salary during the last five years before retiring, but in no case shall such annual pension be more than five hundred dollars: Provided, however, that no such employment as teacher within this state after this act

shall be included within its provisions, unless the teacher shall hold a certificate of qualification issued by or under the authority of the state board of education.

The state board of education makes all needful regulations for issuing certificates of qualification and carrying into effect the other provisions of the act not inconsistent with the act itself, and also examines into and determines the eligibility of each applicant to receive a pension. Ten thousand dollars or as much thereof as may be necessary has been appropriated out of surplus funds in the treasury for the purpose of carrying the act into effect, and the state auditor has been directed hereafter to draw his orders on the general treasurer in favor of such persons and for such sums as shall be certified to him by the state board of education.

Thus both by the establishment of a retirement fund and of a pension system, which seem in general more simple and less liable to abuse than benefit features adopted elsewhere, the teachers of Providence have some provision for old age. So far as the retirement system has operated, reports seem to indicate that it is very satisfactory.

Expenditure.—The total expenditure for public schools has steadily increased with the population and wealth of the city, amounting in the fiscal year 1906–7 to about $835,000. Of this sum about $600,000 was expended for salaries of teachers, and about $84,000 for janitors and other employees. The evening schools cost about $37,000. Other expenses amounting to $114,000 or more, included the purchase of textbooks and other supplies furnished to pupils of all grades free of charge.

The schools.—The first high-school building in Providence was opened in 1843. The city now has four high-

school buildings furnishing all forms of high-school training. These are the English High School, the Classical High School, the Technical High School, and the Hope Street High School. This last school gives ample opportunity for both English and classical training. The number of scholars enrolled in these schools is above 2,200. As the industries of Providence require many highly skilled workers, the Technical High School has gradually grown to meet this demand and offers practical training along many lines. Commercial courses are given in the English and Hope Street High Schools as well as the usual liberal courses of an English high school. The Classical High School, as its name implies, affords training particularly for those intending to pursue the liberal courses in some college.

Between the years 1838 and 1846, six grammar-school buildings were erected; in 1907 there were sixteen grammar-school buildings. The schools in these buildings are each in charge of a male principal assisted by female teachers. These schools were established early in Providence and in general are similar to schools of like grade in other cities.

Primary schools were introduced in 1827. A resolution of 1823 reads as follows:

Resolved, that a Committee be appointed to consider the Expediency of instituting primary schools for Children from five to eight Years of age, to be taught by Females and to report the probable Increase of Expense, if any, which would accrue from the Establishment of such Schools, to report at the next Meeting of this Committee.

In 1827 this action was taken:

Messrs. Grinnell and Danforth appointed on the 13th Instant to procure a suitable Room for a School to be kept by a female Teacher,

Report that such a Room near the 5th District School House can be obtained for Sixty Dollars a year. It is recommended that said room be obtained. Messrs. Grinnell and Danforth Report that they have engaged Miss Carr as preceptress of the female Fifth District School and have this Morning set off a Portion of that School for the Female School.

Within seventy years after the erection of the first primary-school building, Providence has seventy-four primary-school buildings, and a carefully graded system with trained teachers who are paid as highly as those in the grammar grades below the eighth. This uniformity in the scale of payment draws many teachers peculiarly adapted to instruct pupils of younger years into the elementary grades.

The number of kindergartens in Providence, twenty-eight in all, is proportionately larger than in most cities. Kindergartens were first introduced here as in many other cities under private management, and after they had been proved successful, the city started a single kindergarten as an experiment in 1886, and thereafter gradually extended the system.

The "transition classes" were for a time peculiar to the Providence system. These were classes established in order to make the transition of kindergarten pupils to the primary schools less abrupt. A combination of kindergarten and primary-school methods was used in teaching the subjects of the earliest primary grade. Some pupils enter these classes directly from the home, thus making the change to the restraint of regular school duties for small children less severe.

Providence also provides special schools for those who for any reason do not readily fit into the regular school

system. Some of these schools are in separate buildings; others are in buildings occupied by other schools.

There are twenty ungraded rooms set apart for foreign children and for those of very slow development, where the instruction is largely individual and of such a nature as could not be given by a teacher in charge of a class of ordinary numbers. There are three schools also for those whose minds are feeble. In addition to these special classes, there are seven schools to which pupils are sent for individual work either on account of absence a part of the school year and the consequent inability to meet the requirements of regular classwork, or because of unwillingness to bear the restraint of classroom discipline. In the early days unruly boys were subject to corporal punishment and physical strength was often a valuable qualification for a teacher. In these later days when grading is emphasized and work must go on uniformly from day to day, there is not much time for the teacher to devote to the earlier methods of discipline. Frequently it is found that it is not punishment that should be given to a refractory pupil but special instruction in some particular line which from his environment or other reason he has failed to receive. After receiving this instruction the pupil may properly return to his regular work. In general, these schools have increased the efficiency of the educational system as a whole while providing what is best for the individual pupil.

There have also been carried on for varying periods vacation schools, and summer schools and playgrounds.

The school committee on November 29, 1907 decided to establish a special school, to be called the "Sunshine School," for those whose physical condition was some-

what impaired. In January, 1908, the fresh-air school was opened in a building with large swinging windows on three sides of each room, and a system of ventilation affording at all times an atmosphere of cold, pure air. For those suffering from cold extremities, very warm clothing is provided. The chairs and desks are on portable platforms so that the pupils will receive at all times the direct rays of the sun. The school, though new in this country, is not an experiment, as it has been in successful operation in England and on the continent.

Prior to 1860 evening schools were not regularly conducted in Providence, but since that time steady progress has been made in this important branch of public education. In 1890 when grading began, an advanced evening school was established, and in 1894 an evening high school was opened. The evening schools as at present conducted are generally considered of four divisions: (1) the high school; (2) the advanced schools; (3) schools for foreigners learning English; and (4) other lower-grade schools for boys and girls, and the few adults who occasionally attend. In the early days of the evening schools many adults pursuing even primary studies entered. In the other schools at the present time, particularly in the schools for foreigners more adults are found. The aim of the evening schools is to reach all classes not able to attend day schools and to provide for them the most advantageous training.

The evening high school, at first experimental in character, has grown in numbers and efficiency until there are today more than twenty-five members on its teaching staff. The general plan of the school as announced is somewhat as follows: Grammar-school graduates and any others who show that they are qualified to pursue the

studies offered are admitted, while pupils who are not grammar-school graduates will be admitted to the classes in drawing, without examination, provided they are proficient and show some taste for the work. Instruction, elementary and advanced, is given in mathematics (commercial arithmetic, algebra, and geometry); chemistry and physics, English (grammar, composition, and literature); Latin, German, and French; drawing (mechanical, architectural, freehand, etc.); general history; commercial law, book-keeping, shorthand, and typewriting; and elocution and debating.

Whenever a pupil has completed a study as required in any course of the Providence Evening High School, and has passed an examination satisfactory to the superintendent of public schools, he receives a certificate of attainment in that study. Diplomas are awarded to those pupils who complete four hundred and sixty hours' work, and pass satisfactory examinations on the various subjects as required. Work done in day high schools receives full credit in the evening school.

In the common evening schools instruction is given in arithmetic, elementary English, geography (in higher grades), reading, spelling, United States history (in higher grades), and writing. In several of the schools, non-English speaking pupils receive special instruction in the English language. In the various schools in grammar-school buildings, graded classes composed of pupils who later will apply for admission to the evening high school are given particular attention. The schools for foreigners learning English perform for the city a valuable service in making more rapid the assimilation of the large number of immigrants who naturally come to a city like Providence.

The evening schools are under the general supervision of the subcommittee on evening schools of the school committee. A supervising teacher, principals, and about one hundred and seventy-five teachers conduct the work. The evening high school in 1907 registered about 1,500 pupils, while the thirteen other evening schools numbered about 2,500 pupils, who are in attendance for a term usually covering twenty weeks.

The excellence of public education will to a considerable extent depend upon the excellence of the teaching force, provided the teachers are given reasonable facilities with which to work. The efficiency of teachers will be determined in large measure by training, amount of present salary, permanency of tenure, and hope of reasonable provision for the future.

A capable training system is established; the salaries in Providence compare favorably with cities of like population, permanency of tenure is assured, and finally, some provision for old age is made in the retirement and pension systems. It therefore seems but natural that Providence should have an excellent corps of teachers and that its educational interests in so far as they are intrusted to the public schools should be well conserved.

IX

ART

BY

WILLIAM CAREY POLAND, A.M., LITT.D.

ART

Providence during the first century of its existence had as little to show for art as the other early settlements of America. Like these it was an outpost of European civilization in the wilderness and among savage tribes, who sometimes became foes; although the relations between the white invaders and the Indians were on the whole friendly in the state established by Roger Williams. But where the indispensable necessaries of life were not secured without difficulty, there could be but little thought, and much less an attempt, to adorn life with beauty, to provide solace for the eye or the ear, to dignify the offices of civic or religious life by sumptuous architecture, or to maintain public amusements for the rare hours of leisure. A further impediment existed in the asceticism of Puritanism, dominant in New England generally, and maintained by general consent at Providence, although in all good faith and in reality Roger Williams founded a state whose purpose was "to hold forth a lively experiment that a flourishing civill state may stand, yea, and best be maintained, and that among English spirits, with a full liberty in religious concernments."[1]

In 1676 all the houses in Providence but three were burned by hostile Indians. Naturally time was required for recovery from such a calamity, before there could be thought or effort directed toward securing the greater refinements of life. But energy, thrift, and broad practical intelligence availed themselves of the great natural ad-

[1] See *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, Providence, 1856, Vol. I, p. 490.

vantages of Providence, and after the middle of the eighteenth century the town began to enjoy the material prosperity that has continued ever since.

As compared with Boston and Newport, Providence was somewhat late in supplying itself with the organized, means of liberal culture. A printing press was first established in 1762.[1] But there were good schools and there were readers and collections of good books. The Providence Library of a thousand volumes was founded in 1753 when there were few such libraries in the country. In 1770, as a result of energetic action of the citizens of Providence, largely led by forceful and tactful members of the historic Brown family, the Rhode Island College, now Brown University, was transplanted to Providence from Warren, where it had been established in 1764. In 1770–71 was built the lower part of University Hall, the first edifice of the college.

Architectural activity now appeared. The old State House (still standing) had been built in 1763. In 1774–75 the First Baptist Meeting-house was built from one of the alternate plans drawn by the English architect James Gibbs for the church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London. This meeting-house, still used by the church for which it was built, is regarded by all architectural authorities as one of the finest works of the so-called Colonial architecture. Joseph Brown, who, with William Sumner, was its architect, was one of the "Four Brothers," who accomplished much for the material prosperity of Providence and for its intellectual, moral, and religious welfare. Other works of architecture by him are the house which

[1] See *Printers and Printing in Providence, 1762–1907*, Providence, n.d. [1907], p. 5.

he planned for his brother John, now Mr. Marsden J. Perry's residence, and his own house, now occupied by the Providence National Bank. Some good houses had been built before 1775, and from this time, until 1820 and later, noteworthy houses of the colonial type continued to be built. "In Providence," says the excellent *Little Guide*, "not only are there many mansions of the grand epoch, but every grade, as well as every subdivision of the Colonial period is represented."[1]

The architecture, public and private, of Providence during the nineteenth century was, as a rule, at least respectable. Often it was sumptuous and produced after the designs of the best architects of the day. The elder Upjohn, of New York, is represented by Grace Church and by St. Stephen's Church, Thayer, of Boston, by the City Hall, and other architects from places outside of Providence by edifices that enhance the beauty and dignity of the city. Local architects have also had a prominent and important part in this. St. John's Church, Episcopal, the Roger Williams Bank, the several private residences built by John Holden Greene, are good typical examples of the later Rhode Island architecture of the Colonial type of from 1810 to 1825. Russell Warren and James Bucklin in 1828 built the Arcade, exhibiting in the Roman Ionic colonnade on either front the features of the Greek revival then prevalent. In Manning Hall at Brown University, a Doric prostyle edifice, Bucklin exhibited very effectually features more strictly Greek. Between 1850 and 1860 Thomas Alexander Tefft had a distinguished, but brief career. His marked preference for the Romanesque appears in the Memorial Hall of the Rhode Island School

[1] J. B. Gardner and H. A. Barker, *A Little Guide to Providence* (1907), p. 23.

of Design (formerly the Central Congregational Church) and in the Central Baptist Church. Had Tefft lived but a score of years longer, his fine artistic taste, declared in his spoken and written words, and set forth strongly in his architectural creations, could not have failed to influence architecture for the better throughout America.[1] Later the refined taste of Alpheus Carey Morse was exhibited in many private houses and in certain public buildings, as, for example, in Sayles Memorial Hall at Brown University. The late Alfred Stone and those associated with him in the practice of architecture have adorned the city with many excellent buildings, among which may be named the Providence County Court House, the Public Library, the Union Railway Station, the Lyman Gymnasium at Brown University, and the buildings of the Women's College, these last named being designed by the late Edmund R. Willson. Mr. Willson also produced in the Pendleton House of the Rhode Island School of Design an admirable example of the Colonial type of architecture. Among the later important works of architecture of first-class importance are the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University, by Messrs. Shepley, Rutan, & Coolidge, the Post Office by Messrs. Clarke & Howe, of Providence, and the State House, of white marble, by Messrs. McKim, Mead & White. The State House is the most imposing edifice in the city, and is surmounted by one of the few marble domes in the world.

In connection with the works of architecture proper must also be mentioned what has been done by the landscape architect to produce an attractive setting for the

[1] See E. M. Stone, *The Architect and Monetarian, a Brief Memoir*, Providence, 1869.

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the works of the builder. The best professional skill in the country has been employed in laying out many private grounds in the city and environs, and in enhancing the beauty of the large areas embraced in Swan Point Cemetery, in the grounds of Butler Hospital, of Brown University, and of the State House, as well as in the arrangement of some of the smaller public parks, and more conspicuously in the plan and constant improvement of the Roger Williams Park, the principal park of the city.

The dramatic art began to flourish in Providence in the eighteenth century.[1] In 1762, in accordance with a practice prevailing elsewhere in the English-speaking world when Puritanical opposition to the stage was strong, David Douglas produced plays under the guise of "Moral Dialogues," at his "Histrionic Academy" in Meeting Street. In the same year the theater in Rhode Island was suppressed by law. In 1793 the law ceased to be enforced, and wealthy and influential citizens encouraged the production of plays. In 1795 a theater was built. From 1795 to 1825 the stage enjoyed the patronage of many of the leading people of the town, and it employed the best actors of the day. The plays presented were of the type in vogue everywhere, including drama of the best order, as well as that of a weaker type, sentimental, or at times even indelicate. But histrionic art was respected, and some of the actors, notably George Frederick Cooke, were regarded with special honor and affection. Junius Brutus Booth found appreciative audiences and sincere friends here. The elder Wallack appeared in 1823. In 1827

[1] For full information regarding the stage in Providence see Charles Blake, *An Historical Account of the Providence Stage*, Providence, 1868; and George O. Willard, *History of the Providence Stage, 1762–1891*, Providence, 1891.

Edwin Forrest acted in Providence, and recognized the discreet attention given by his audience. But after 1829 the stage became increasingly unprofitable to managers. People of fashion did not attend as much as before. Some of the best actors visited Providence, but the theater no longer had the support formerly accorded to it. Until the opening of the Providence Opera House in 1871, there was no adequate play-house in Providence. After the opening of the Opera House a stock company was maintained until 1876, but since that time none has been supported there. Other play-houses have existed. Harrington's Opera House, no longer existing, was a strong rival of the Providence Opera House. The next important rival was Low's Opera House, opened in 1878, which has been Keith's Theater since 1888. Beside the Opera House and Keith's there are some six well-known theaters, where the performances are of the lighter type, vaudeville, burlesque, moving pictures, song and dance, monologues, athletic performances, and the like. At the Lyceum Theater, formerly the Talma Theater, occur amateur theatrical performances.

For some years, since the syndicate control of the theaters has prevailed, it has been practically impossible to maintain a high standard for the stage in Providence. The day for permanent stock companies here has apparently passed. At Keith's during the summer a respectable stock company has been maintained to present plays at moderate prices. The syndicate, when it ruled here, did not send hither its best actors as often as it might, and it had power to prevent some of the best actors not in its service from appearing in Providence. But its control has been somewhat broken since 1906, and at the

present time the prospects for the stage are better than for nearly a decade. Shakespeare and the other great dramatists, however, are rarely interpreted. The great interpreters have no successors who equal them. The modern actor differs in his manner of rendition from the earlier actor. He cannot recite blank verse. He speaks on the stage as he might speak when off the stage. The modern play is realistic, and the actor's training has prepared him for that, and not for the art of the classic play. There is too much sensational drama, with false, unreal sentiment. The influence of the cheap theaters is bad, bad for art, bad for morals. These draw large audiences, and spoil or dull the taste for something better. Just now, the popular delight in the cheapest of all scenic diversions, the "moving-pictures" show, is doing its part to stifle interest in the legitimate drama.

One contributory cause for the retarded development of the stage in Providence is, that many Providence people of means and taste visit Providence theaters but little comparatively, because they go to the theater in their not infrequent visits to New York, and see the best plays presented there, where at least the setting of the play is richer than is possible in Providence. This diminishes financial support, and withdraws some of the encouragement given by the presence in the theater of persons of influence and social position.

It is convenient and historically appropriate to consider the condition of music in Providence in close connection with our notice of the stage. In the earlier days of the theater in Providence the orchestra was weak. In 1803 it is said that two students from Brown University

occasionally played on the violin and flute or clarinet. In 1828 Moses J. Phillips had an orchestral department of unusual strength, and Mrs. Austin, an eminent vocalist, was his chief attraction. In 1838, under James G. Maeder, the largest and best-drilled orchestra ever heard in Providence up to that time was introduced at Shakespeare Hall. In the same year Mr. Maeder successfully produced operatic drama. Opera has continued since that time. Some of the best operatic singers of the nineteenth century have appeared; but on the whole opera is the weakest of all departments of music in Providence. The means for the production of opera are inferior. The Opera House and its appointments are inadequate. It is believed that with adequate facilities there would be no difficulty in attracting good singers and that the patronage would be ample. As it is, opera languishes, and the well-to-do enjoy the opera elsewhere, as we have noted is the case in respect of theatrical performances generally.

As late as 1770 the forms of religious worship most followed in Providence discouraged music, even to the extent of psalmody, for it stands recorded that in May, 1771, when singing apparently became a part of the form of worship at the First Baptist Church, the oldest church in Providence, Rev. Samuel Winsor, Jr., with others, withdrew from the church, and that a chief reason for withdrawal was that singing in public worship was "highly disgustful" to him.[1] Since that time the condition of music in Providence churches has probably not differed materially from its condition in the larger cities or towns of New England in the same spoch. Some churches have had better music, some have had worse than the average.

[1] See *Baptist Annual Register*, London, for 1801–2, p. 835.

Church music has had its due part in encouraging the arts of singing and of organ playing. The constant, stated demand, even when only ordinary psalmody is practiced, requires a certain degree of training and presents an opportunity to choir-leaders, members of choirs, or any influential persons who have musical education and taste.

The quartette choirs of Grace Church, Episcopal, of the First Congregational Church, Unitarian, and of the Central Congregational Church, have long maintained a high standard. Over forty years ago the late Dr. Eben Tourjée for a time conducted a conservatory of music in Providence, before he established the well-known conservatory in Boston, and he had a large chorus choir at the Chestnut Street Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1866 a vested boy choir was introduced at St. Stephen's Church, Episcopal. One had been introduced earlier in St. Andrew's Church, Episcopal. The Chestnut Church choir ceased to exist years ago, and the church itself exists no longer, but the other choirs named still continue and are excellent. The influence of all has been considerable in the churches generally. The Roman Catholic churches render much of the best ecclesiastical music of the great composers, especially at Christmas and at Easter. Some of their choirs, rather conspicuously those of St. Michael's Church, of the Cathedral, and of the Church of the Blessed Sacrament, have risen above the average in the quality of performance. The general tendency in all the churches is towards improvement, both in the selection of works to be rendered and in the rendition. The development in the churches of chorus choirs of considerable size is a noteworthy fact. The

organ recitals, usually, if not always, with free admission, given by organists from year to year in the churches where they officiate, have served an admirable purpose in habituating their audiences to the best organ music. Among the organists and choir-masters have been many, some no longer living, others still active, whose musical education has been liberal, and who have done abiding service to the cause of music and to the city where they lived and labored. This service many of these have rendered through their everyday work as teachers, as well as in what they have effected through their work in the churches. It is not to be forgotten that from these organists and teachers, two professors of music, natives of Rhode Island, have gone from Providence, to become heads of departments of music in important institutions of learning. These are Albert Augustus Stanley, of the University of Michigan and Hamilton Crawford Macdougall, of Wellesley College.

For many years, certainly more than half a century, Providence has had good band music. For this it is chiefly indebted to the American Band. To this name the name of the leader has been usually prefixed. It is now known as Fay's American Band. No epoch in this band's history has equaled in importance and significance the longest period when it was under one leader, that from 1866 to 1900, when, with the exception of one year, the late Mr. David W. Reeves was leader. He was successful from every practical point of view, and he had a preference for the best music. Under his leadership the band was widely known and played in many cities remote from Providence.

In a little more than a generation Providence audiences

have improved in their appreciation of the best instrumental music. The visits of Theodore Thomas with his orchestra over thirty years ago did much for the formation of good taste. He taught what musical art means by his adequate rendering of the great composers, giving to Providence some share of what he gave to New York, Chicago, and other cities. In later years the Boston Symphony Orchestra has continued this work, giving winter after winter a small number of concerts.

Before the Boston Symphony Orchestra began to visit Providence a local organization, called the Providence Symphony Orchestra, flourished in Providence and gave good concerts. Some of the performers were amateurs. The late Mr. Robert Bonner who conducted this also did much for chamber music through the Caecilia Society, with which chamber music began in Providence some thirty years ago. For several years excellent concerts, three in a winter, have been given by the Kneisel Quartette of Boston, aided at times by local artists.

It is said that Providence has more musical organizations than any city of its size in the United States. Some eight of these engage professional artists.[1] The most important, the Arion Club, organized in 1880, is a mixed chorus of 250 members, which meets once a week in the autumn and winter, and, assisted generally by soloists, gives three concerts annually. Dr. Jules Jordan has been its conductor from the beginning, and has well earned a position of primacy among the local leaders in music.

Several years before the Arion Club was organized the Providence Philharmonic Association, an organization

[1] See Gardner and Barker, *Little Guide to Providence*, p. 61.

similar to the Arion Club, had a brief but useful career under the late Dr. Dudley Buck. Providence was late in forming societies for the cultivation of music. It is not a natural musical center. Formerly it was not a favorite place for musicians to visit. They called Providence audiences inappreciative, lacking in sympathy, and cold. Smaller cities, such as Worcester, or Salem, cultivated chorus work successfully and had a good musical atmosphere long before Providence. There were even then good musicians and well-instructed and appreciative critics. Mr. Theodore Barker, for instance—to name only the dead—a teacher of rare excellence, and a translator and composer of delicate taste, did much to educate and to prepare the way. There has been a great change for the better. Critical observation for many years of the reception accorded to musicians who visit Providence justifies one in asserting that a Providence audience is highly discriminating and appreciative, and that its applause means much.

Providence people have unusually strong opinions about music, and with characteristic Rhode Island individualism, they sometimes exhibit certain strong dislikes for really good musical works. This hinders the development of catholicity in musical art. The wider dissemination of interest in music has led of late to the formation of new organizations and thus has tended somewhat to divert support from efforts to centralize musical interests. But if the rivalry of the various organizations shall be a friendly rivalry, the interests of music in general must be promoted, and natural causes will lead to some form of centralization.

Among the praiseworthy efforts to promote a general

interest in music, and to disseminate musical education, should be noticed the People's Choral Association, which has now disappeared. It existed several years, not as a rival of the Arion Club, but with the purpose of aiding poor people in getting a knowledge of music. It brought together several hundred people of different nationalities, and gave them instruction in singing under a competent conductor.

The traditions of Germany in music are maintained by the Einklang Singing Society, founded in 1890, and those of Sweden by the Verdandi Singing Society, founded in 1895. These societies exist largely for the pleasure and the training in singing of the members; but the Einklang gives one concert annually, and the Verdandi often appears before the public. Their permanence is to be desired for the demonstration of the best that may be learned from the two peoples whom they represent, important peoples in the musical world.

At least one other race with inborn musical gifts and with a long musical history is represented in Providence. There are many Italians here. They all sing, and many perform on musical instruments. They have no singing societies, however; and the choral association seems to be a sign of serious devotion to musical culture. But they have at least five bands to perform instrumental music. Inheriting the natural endowments, the history and the traditions of their race, the Italians will doubtless yet have an important part in the development of music, as well as of the other arts.

Other musical societies are the Apollo Club, the Chaminade Club, the Chopin Club, the Monday Morning Musical Club, the Providence Choral Association, the

Providence Musical Association. This last-named organization is incorporated and has fifty stockholders, and it brings some of the best artists to Providence to appear in concerts. It is very successful, providing good music and securing appreciative audiences.

Of course there are many teachers of music, and much good work is done in the instruction of individual pupils, of classes, of choruses. There are some small companies of vocal and instrumental musicians, who occasionally perform in public. The influence of private musical parties, such as frequently are given at the houses of people of means and refinement, is promotive of good taste. When one considers all that is demanded socially of the busy people of Providence, it speaks well for their interest in music that in the past winter (1907–8) from twenty to twenty-five excellent concerts were given here with good audiences.

The attention given to music in the public schools counts for much. Instruction there is well managed, and Mr. Emory P. Russell, the present director, is rendering a great public service. Year after year there is an increase in the number of persons who have been taught something of music in their school days. The Public Library also promotes knowledge of music, owning for lending nearly 2,000 important musical scores.

Influenced by consideration of the historic order in which the several arts have been cultivated in Providence, we have noticed architecture first of all, and have reserved to the last the other arts of design.

Of the cultivation of sculpture and painting in the earliest epoch nothing can be said. In the eighteenth century

there is no association of the names of noted artists with Providence, like the association of Stuart's name, for instance, with Newport. Providence was then less important as a civic center than Newport. Excellent woodcarvings in some of the best houses of that period and of the early nineteenth century, and good old furniture indicate the presence of craftsmen with feeling for line and form. Of free sculpture, however, either for public enjoyment or in private possession, nothing of importance existed, and no series of family portraits speaks of the continuous activity of local painters. Down to the last third of the nineteenth century there were few local artists, and few of these had enjoyed anything like liberal opportunities for training in art. They were necessarily largely self-taught. No adequate schools of art existed in America, and study in Europe was out of the question for most would-be artists.

Painted portraits of Providence people were produced, of course, often by the best masters of their day. One cannot forget here the great service done in this way by the excellent local painter, James Sullivan Lincoln, who left behind him speaking likenesses of many Providence men and women. Some painted portraits were, and still are, on public exhibition. Such are the "Washington," by Gilbert Stuart, in the State House, the several portraits in the Providence Athenaeum, and the larger and still growing collection of portraits owned by Brown University. In these collections were works by some European artists, and by Harding, Healey, Pratt, Jane Stuart, Lincoln, and others. The Rhode Island Historical Society also has some portraits. Few of all these portraits have marked artistic value. The Athenaeum has long rejoiced in own-

ing a work, "The Reading Girl," by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and perhaps the most important work, "The Hours," of Edward Green Malbone. Some works of sculpture, largely portraits in private possession, also existed.

Some of the local painters essayed bolder subjects than the mere portrait, attempting ideal figure composition. Some were successful in landscape work. The greater number were sincere and industrious, and they worked in the spirit of the true artist, whatever their limitations might be. In the late nineteenth century more trained artists appeared, a number of whom, still producing good work, have more than a local reputation.[1]

Well-to-do people visiting Europe in the old days often brought home works of sculpture or of painting. Apart from their own portraits, they were inclined to be timid in their taste, choosing copies of works of the old masters rather than new works by living masters. But a change for the better has long been manifest. The works of modern masters, European and American, for the past thirty years and more, have been acquired by Providence people, and some of these occasionally appear as loans in the exhibitions in Providence and elsewhere.

Design is vitally connected with some of the large industries of Providence, conspicuously with textile manufacture and with the manufacture of silverware and of jewelry. It is said that "a twenty-mile circle, with the Providence City Hall as a center, incloses the largest textile manufacturing district in the country;" and that Providence "is the foremost jewelry manufacturing city in the country."[2]

[1] For interesting sketches of those who practiced art in Providence before 1870 see Arnold, *Art and Artists in Rhode Island*, 1905.

[2] See *Little Guide*, p. 55.

It is unnecessary to argue today how important it is, even if commercial interests alone are considered, that provision should be made for training artistic and skilled designers in our own country; but the industries named have long flourished, not only in Providence, but elsewhere in America, without such provision being made. Designers were imported from foreign countries, and foreign designs were copied.

For the past thirty years or more a change has been making itself felt in this matter throughout the United States. Schools of design have been established, and their usefulness has been made clear by the works of those whom they have trained. Much more than commercial shrewdness has been the operative cause of this, for there has been a widespread and steady growth of appreciation and taste in all that relates to art. After the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia in 1876, itself largely awakening a new interest in art, the Woman's Centennial Commission of Rhode Island gave the money remaining in their treasury (about $1,700) for a school of design. On April 5, 1877, the school which they founded was incorporated as the Rhode Island School of Design, and was formally opened in 1878. Its avowed purposes from the outset were essentially the same as those that have guided it in the thirty years that have followed.

These purposes are:

First, the instruction of artisans in drawing, painting, modeling and designing, that they may successfully apply the principles of art to the requirements of trade and manufactures. *Second*, the systematic training of students in the practice of art, that they may understand its principles, give instruction to others, or become artists. *Third*, the general advancement of art education by the exhibition of works of art and art studies, and by lectures on art.

The Rhode Island School of Design has grown steadily since it was opened. It has maintained both day and evening classes, and hundreds of its graduates and past pupils have demonstrated throughout Rhode Island and elsewhere how valuable is the training that it gives. By the distinctions which its graduates have won in the higher art schools its efficiency has been proved to the pronounced satisfaction of eminent and authoritative teachers of art. The number of pupils has increased from 170 in 1879 to 898 in 1908. The faculty consists of a director (who also teaches) and nine other teachers; and with these are associated thirty-two other instructors and lecturers. Since 1894 the school has occupied buildings of its own. In the museum are pictures, autotypes, casts, works of sculpture, and other works of art, some being valuable specimens of ancient works. A marked specialty is the rare Pendleton collection of antique furniture. The yearbook for 1908 shows that the school now occupies 62,010 square feet of floor space for all the purposes named above, and that "even with the recent expansion of floor areas the rooms remain crowded." The school offers courses of four years in these five departments: Freehand drawing and painting, decorative design, modeling, jewelry design and die-cutting, normal art, or the department for training teachers of art. It offers courses of three years in these three departments: Architecture, mechanical department, textile design. Special classes exist for teachers in the public and private schools who desire to learn drawing, water-color, and composition; and there are Saturday classes to instruct children in drawing, water-color, modeling, and in the work of the mechanical department. For the last two years a summer school of five

weeks has been maintained. Post-graduate scholarships encourage good students to remain at school after finishing the prescribed courses. Courses of public lectures are given occasionally in the winter.

The museum of the school is open daily, with free admission on four days in the week. Students and artists may be admitted free on all days. The objects exhibited are in part the property of the museum, and in part loans. In addition to the permanent exhibition frequent special exhibitions are held. The objects exhibited in the twenty-two exhibitions of 1907–8 included etchings, Italian Renaissance textiles, paintings, miniatures, jewelry and enamels, drawings, old Japanese textiles, Japanese color-prints. The number of visitors to the museum during that time was 64,631. At these special exhibitions, during some ten years past, some of the work of the best American artists has been seen in the museum, and some work by excellent foreign artists. Some of the best works thus exhibited have been acquired by the school. The school has a substantial endowment, which should be largely increased, and it receives aid from the state of Rhode Island through annual appropriations. The state and the city of Providence provide a certain number of free scholarships at the school. The buildings and the endowment are the gift of liberal friends of art and of the school. Prominent, early, and constant among these are members of the Jesse Metcalf family. Mrs. Jesse Metcalf, was one of the founders of the school, and she gave to it much of her wise and watchful care, in addition to her gifts in money. Mr. Jesse Metcalf, her husband, gave land and buildings, and since his death, in fulfilment of his wish, his children have given a large fund for the pur-

chase of works of art for the museum. They have also given buildings, works of art, furniture, and apparatus. Others are generously giving money and other material gifts, as well as valuable time, thought, and counsel. Persons and firms interested in textile manufactures, in the mechanical arts, and in the production of jewelry, have shown their conviction of the worth of the school in various practical ways. The artists of Providence and of other cities warmly praise its work. The Providence Art Club annually gives a post-graduate scholarship.

The Providence Art Club was founded and incorporated in 1880, for the encouragement of art. Four of the seven incorporators named in the charter were artists by profession, and as Mr. Arnold, the historian of art in Rhode Island, has shown, the club was practically founded in the studio of the late Edward M. Bannister, one of the most poetic painters of landscape that America has ever produced. The artist members occupy an honored place in the list of members and they are prominent in all club affairs. Their number is not limited by the constitution, but the number of other members is fixed at four hundred, and there is always a large waiting list. Apart from its delightful inner social life, and the genial, suggestive influences of a charming domicile in an ancient house just suited to the needs of such a club, the Art Club aids artists by opening its galleries for frequent exhibitions of their works, serving the public also by thus giving to many people the opportunity to see and purchase works of art. For its members it provides occasional musical entertainments and lectures by eminent art critics, artists, and others.

Brown University has had a share in fostering the aesthetic interests of Providence. Perhaps an early

tendency toward the aesthetic in the instruction at the university may be detected in the recorded preference of James Manning, the first president, for teaching Longinus, *On the Sublime*. At any rate, as early as 1867 Dr. Charles W. Parsons, the professor of anatomy, physiology, and hygiene, emphasized the relation of anatomy to art, and Professor J. Lewis Diman a few years later lectured on architecture in his courses in history. Professor Benjamin F. Clarke also gave some instruction in drawing. Since 1889 courses in the history of Greek and Roman art have been given, and this led in 1892 to the establishment of a professorship of the history of art. The courses in this department are elementary courses in the history of art from prehistoric epochs to our own time, some work in theory and criticism, and advanced courses in special epochs of art, primarily for graduates, and chiefly, though not exclusively, in Greek and Roman archaeology. A system of co-operative exchange between the university and the Rhode Island School of Design enables students in each institution to receive some instruction in the other.

The university also has a small museum of art. Its portrait collection was the earliest public picture gallery in the state, and it is still the best collection of portraits. In 1888 a beginning was made of a collection of casts from the original of masterpieces of Greek and Roman sculpture. This was the earliest gallery of casts in the state. It was established in order to illustrate archaeological instruction, and for the benefit of the public, to whom it is open at stated hours. To the casts some valuable pictures have recently been added by the bequest of the late Mr. George W. Harris, of Boston. The university also owns other pictures not in the museum, and some

important portraits in marble and in bronze, and, standing in the open air, two striking bronze copies of the Augustus of the Prima Porta and (absolutely unique) of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, both gifts of the late Mr. Moses B. I. Goddard.

In all Providence schools, public and private, some instruction is given in the processes of art, at least in drawing. Modeling in clay and some elementary work in color are often added. The State Normal School provides some instruction, and it has entered on a plan of co-operation with the Rhode Island School of Design for training teachers of art. Prominent among the schools in which art is taught are Miss Wheeler's school for girls, and the Moses Brown School, which have excellent buildings with studio light, specially designed for teaching art.

Artistic work in handicraft of various kinds is stimulated by the Handicraft Club, a woman's club of 170 members. The Providence Keramic Club of about twenty-five members, and the Water Color Club, of about seventy members, sufficiently declare their purpose by their names. Smaller clubs, circles for listening to lectures on art, or for studying art without a teacher, are formed from time to time and have their good influence. The Rhode Island Woman's Club, of 325 members, with rooms and meetings in Providence, has occasional lectures on art, and devotes some attention to the study of art.

The most recently established art museum in Providence is the Annmary Brown Memorial, the gift to the public of General Rush C. Hawkins of New York. A superb collection of printed books from the first presses, one of the first three collections of its kind in the world, comprising 530 volumes and going back to the block

books, is the special feature of this museum; but it contains also 100 paintings by old and modern masters, some of which are said to be of rare merit.

The influence of libraries has always been large in Providence, and each of the three important general libraries—Brown University Library, the Athenaeum, and the Public Library—has a large number of books on art and special funds to purchase books on art. The Rhode Island School of Design has an excellent and growing library. The Public Library exhibits with great frequency photographs of works of art systematically arranged. It has recently received the gift of the rich architectural library of the late Mr. Edward I. Nickerson. The architectural library of the firm of Messrs. Stone, Carpenter, and Sheldon is a well-known private library of great importance. The Gorham Manufacturing Co. has a library of rare and costly books on art, some volumes of which, with change of works every few weeks, are generally lent to the Athenaeum for consultation by its members and subscribers. Many Providence people read some of the best books on art.

Some valuable collections of pictures are in private possession in Providence. Some private collections once existing here are now dispersed. Nor should the importers of pictures be forgotten, and in particular, Mr. Seth M. Vose, who for over fifty years has been bringing European masterpieces to America. He was the earliest American dealer to appreciate Corot, and to buy many of his canvases. He has imported many of the best pictures that enrich the best collections in the United States.

The natural features of Providence are diversified and

beautiful. Two small rivers, the Woonasquatucket, and the Moshassuck, and one somewhat larger, the Seekonk, enter Providence harbor through valleys bordered by bold, picturesque hills. The harbor, leading into the broad and beautiful Narragansett Bay, is in itself fair to see, if one can forget that it is polluted by the refuse brought down by the rivers from the factories on their banks. The residents of the city have largely clung to the fashion of living in separate houses with surrounding grounds. Some of these grounds are still large. Until recently there have been large tracts of land unoccupied by houses within twenty minutes' walk of Market Square. As so much open space has remained, Providence has delayed making adequate provision for public parks. In comparison with Minneapolis, Louisville, St. Paul, Kansas City, and Rochester, cities whose population comes near its own, it has a smaller number of acres of park to each 10,000 persons. Still there are in the city under the control of the city park commissioners thirty-three parks containing over 644 acres, and in addition a little less than 480 acres of public or semi-public grounds, beside amusement parks, etc. Public institutions control nearly 804 acres more. The largest public park is Roger Williams Park, containing nearly 432 acres. It has been gradually improved for park purposes under advice of the best landscape architects. It is in general a well-elevated tract of land with surface pleasantly undulating, with some broad level areas, and with 140 acres of its surface covered with lakes, giving facilities for boating in the summer and for skating in the winter. There are works of sculpture, a boat-house, a casino, a natural-history museum, and other buildings. On a platform built in one of the lakes are

provided seats for hundreds of people and a bandstand.

Other parks are smaller. Several have attractive features. Some sculpture and some good buildings adorn a few, and there are some water features in several. Exchange Place is said to be "the first realization of modern 'civic-center' idea in America." The City Hall Park lies on one side of this place, and in front of the Union Railroad Station. Public buildings are at the two ends of the place. The line of buildings opposite the front of the station is neither beautiful, attractive, nor altogether creditable.

Recognizing that the interests of important contiguous towns, with densely populated areas, are inextricably involved with those of Providence (a fact important in considering every aspect of Providence), the state of Rhode Island has created a Metropolitan Park Commission, under which a comprehensive metropolitan park system is shaping itself to provide breathing-places and recreation grounds for a present population of 360,000, about three-quarters of the population of the state, and occupying less than one-eighth of the territory of the state. In this system are included in addition to Providence the cities of Pawtucket and Central Falls, and neighboring regions in the towns of East Providence, Cranston, Warwick, Johnston, North Providence and Lincoln. The electors of the state have authorized and directed the general assembly "to provide for the issue of state bonds not to exceed the amount of $250,000 for the acquirement and improvement of real estate for public reservations and parks in the Metropolitan Park District of Providence Plantations," and already large plans have been made for a park-system embracing the valleys of nine rivers, the shores

Library

of the bay, and about twenty ponds and lakes. Precipitous hillsides commanding broad and beautiful views, and many tracts of woodland are in the regions embraced by the system. Many of the larger areas are to be connected by attractive roadways. Such exist now in Providence, notably in the Blackstone Boulevard.[1]

In this sketch it has seemed to be imperative that we consider the past, in order duly to understand and to value present facts. Following this principle, we believe that we have discovered that in the matter of architecture, public and private, Providence has had a highly honorable record in the past, and that it still aims at improvement; that the stage could maintain a higher average ideal a generation ago than it can maintain today, but that in this Providence suffers, and under present conditions must suffer, with other cities, from the commercialism that now controls the American stage; that while Providence had an inferior standing in respect of music a generation ago, there has been a great improvement, and there is every reason to be hopeful for the future; that in respect of the arts of design, whether in free, or in decorative art, there has been a rapid development from nothing exceptionally conspicuous to a widely spread and better-instructed interest, to better means of educating and encouraging artists and craftsmen, and to a clearer conception of the necessity that all the people should know and enjoy the beautiful. Much still remains to be done to bring Providence to a highly advanced stage of development; but to say this

[1] See *Second Annual Report of the Board of Metropolitan Park Commission*, 1906; and *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Park Commissioners for the Year 1907*; also *Little Guide*, p. 63. This guide is especially authoritative for parks.

when art is the subject does not necessarily mean that progress to a much higher stage must be slow. We should remember what Athens accomplished in sculpture from Antenor to Phidias, and in the drama from Thespis to Sophocles, within the limits of about a century; and how rapidly painting developed at Florence from Masaccio to Leonardo da Vinci in the fifteenth century. Improvement has already come rapidly through personal influence, through various forms of organized effort, through a growing perception of the economic value of art. And yet vigilance is ever necessary. There have been regrettable examples of carelessness in respect of preservation of objects conducive to aesthetic interests. Some lands, with unique and charming features for park purposes, have passed into private hands, and have been reduced to the prosaic and indistinctive regularity of city streets and grounds. Even the hand which seeks to beautify may not always be discreetly guided as is shown in some early work done in Roger Williams Park and in Davis Park since that became city property.

In some particulars Providence is not so well advanced in aesthetic matters as some other cities in which the conditions of wealth and population are similar; but in general culture and in good taste, both widely shared, it is exceptionally well prepared to become a congenial domicile for art.

The changes in the racial elements of our population are of almost certain promise for art. A generation ago our population was largely made up of people of British origin, of English, Scottish, and Irish stock, people of a race not on the whole artistic, however great the incontestable service to art of many British artists has been. Today there

are thousands among us of different origin. Some are from southern Europe, notably from Italy, having traditions of art and inborn qualities congenial to art, some from Germany and Scandinavia, with the heritage of generations of education in art, particularly in music; and as these people advance in general education they are not unlikely to make important contributions to the development of the aesthetic. Results, too, that have followed the admixture of races in other lands and in other times, results often favorable to art, as in ancient Greece and in mediaeval France, may be legitimately expected here.

One who is acquainted with Rhode Island history and with the tendency toward segregation that has been a Rhode Island characteristic since the days of Roger Williams, may naturally ask: Is individualism so deeply ingrained in the Rhode Island character as to be a serious impediment in the way of aesthetic progress? No one today can question the value of the "lively experiment" in liberty of the soul which Roger Williams made in his infant state in the seventeenth century; but lack of public spirit is a defect with which Providence people who have public spirit sometimes charge the body of their fellow-citizens. Probably no commonwealth ever had much good art without a general, positive, and spontaneous interest in art, without the existence of a feeling of solidarity in such matters. Is there not a notable increase in Providence of such a sentiment in other matters: in philanthrophy, in sanitation, in popular education, in ridding the city of the grip of corporations, in promoting the general commercial interests? Movements of this kind are the usual and necessary precursors of aesthetic improvement. Such improvement will not come of itself, but we believe

that there are enough of those who are interested in such improvement, and who will work together to secure it.

Of two needs we may speak briefly. The presence in the city of persons of eminent creative power in the intellectual sphere is something greatly to be coveted. Eminent scholars are here, men whose writings on scientific subjects are enriching the learning of the world. But we lack those who have any conspicuous part in the creative realm of letters. The intellectual stimulus of the presence of such personalities tells for much in the development of the arts. Moreover, in the fine arts and in music it would inspire all those who love art, artists and amateurs, if several artists of widely recognized and commanding genius had their home here, to show the way, to kindle emulation, to encourage the faithful and gifted workers already here, who would welcome new leaders bringing with them a fresh inspiration. The aesthetic atmosphere would be quickened by such accessions. Is it not pertinent for those who are interested in the higher life of a city to ask: What can be done by grants, concessions, or allurements of whatever kind, not only to promote the growth of trade or manufactures, but to attract the workers who are giving to the life of the day some of its richest qualities?

The second need is stimulating patronage of the arts. In days when the arts have flourished, whether in ancient Egypt, Greece, or Rome, or in mediaeval Germany, France or Italy, or in the Italy of the Renaissance, the artist has been sure of adequate patronage, and the intensity of competition and of emulation among the artists has caused high standards of art to be recognized. The patronage was bestowed by the ruler, by the commonwealth, by the religious corporations, or by wealthy persons. The

despots of Greece, the Roman emperors, the princes and prelates of Italy in the Renaissance, loved art, largely employed the artist, and richly rewarded him. Music, the drama, and the arts of design, wherever in the capitals of Europe today they maintain a high standard, are aided in this by the subvention of the rulers, either sovereign or corporate governing body. How can what is equivalent to this be accomplished in our American cities? The question certainly involves much that is of vital interest, not only in respect of art and of liberal culture, but in respect of the development of the noblest form of democracy.

American men and women of extraordinary wealth have generously endowed institutions to promote liberal culture. Their gifts are gratefully welcomed. But to leave all to be done by those who possess exceptional wealth would be a grievous error. To become accustomed to depend solely on their gifts is contrary to a sound democratic ethical standard. All the people should have a part, according to their means, in providing for the public good. We recognize this in supporting public schools, libraries, and colleges by taxation. We maintain many noble charities by the voluntary contributions of all classes, rich and poor. In a minor degree do the donations in support of the arts come from the people at large. It seems to us that it would ennoble all that democracy has achieved, if in every town of any pretensions there should be established a corporation in support of the arts, with ample power to receive and disburse funds. It should be properly safeguarded for perpetuation and for control by right-minded trustees, and it should be increasingly enriched from year to year by gifts large and small. The penny that the child may give with affection should be a sacredly

precious gift. The office of this corporation should be to aid in securing for the present and for all time to come the best that any art may provide. The income of the constantly increasing endowment held by the corporation should be distributed according to the best-instructed judgment of those who hold it in trust. Perhaps some public monumental building or work of sculpture or painting may be needed, again a work of art of whatever nature for whatever public museum is best qualified to care for it, again the cause of the drama or of music may require guaranty or extraordinary expenditure, again some new and wholesome beauty in public parks, squares or streets may be in demand, and yet not be readily obtainable without the aid of such a fund. Not a penny should ever go from the fund for the trivial or the cheap, but the sole object should be to obtain for the benefit of the common life as much as can be obtained of the best in any art. We believe that the ideal is practicable, and that the public-minded men and women of any city might well covet for their city the honor of being the first to make the ideal a reality.

X

PHILANTHROPY

BY

MARY CONYNGTON, A.M.

PHILANTHROPY

In its philanthropies, as in its other developments, Providence is markedly individual. Its benevolently inclined seem to care but little whether a certain plan has been tried elsewhere and approved, or tried elsewhere and condemned, or not tried at all. If that plan commends itself to the Providence mind it will be adopted, and if not, rejected, whatever its previous history or lack of history.

Consequently, a comparative view of the city's philanthropic activities reveals curious inconsistencies. Methods long since condemned by experts as ineffective or worse flourish side by side with methods abreast of the latest thought, sometimes in advance of it. Thus Providence has never had a city hospital. Any doctor may send an indigent patient to either of two large hospitals, whereupon the city, although it has no voice in the admission, length of stay, or discharge of the patient, becomes liable for his board. The plan has nothing to commend and much to disparage it, but it is continued year after year, against the protests of the officials both of the hospitals and of the poor department. Yet probably no other city is carrying on the campaign against tuberculosis more actively or intelligently.

Innumerable classifications might be made of the charitable activities of a large city, but perhaps as convenient a grouping as can be adopted divides them all into three general classes—activities relating to general relief, to the care of special classes, and to the social advance of the community—the forward movements which

have come to form so large a part of modern altruistic effort. It is impossible to make these divisions along any hard-and-fast lines; the classes will not be mutually exclusive. In this grouping, for instance, relief work is to be found under both of the other divisions, the care of special classes falls in part under relief work, and is in part closely related to social-betterment work, while this latter forms an element in each of the other kinds of effort. Nevertheless, for the purposes of the present consideration, we may regard all philanthropies as falling mainly under some one of these heads.

General relief is the form of philanthropic activity most extensively practiced and most widely known. To many persons it is the principal, almost the only expression of charity. It is the form which occurs spontaneously to most of us when we hear the word philanthropy, the form to which the kindly amateur turns instinctively when he makes up his mind to take some share in charitable work. And because it is the most obvious form, because there is always opportunity to dispense it, because it can be undertaken alone in the most casual fashion and dropped as easily when it becomes a burden, and because the well-meaning but injudicious individual undertaking it can do almost unlimited harm—for all these reasons, the subject of general relief has been more thoroughly discussed than any other. It would be too much to say that experts have agreed upon the right way of meeting all its problems, but a few general principles have been accepted, and some methods have been clearly proved better than others.

At the very outset of the discussion we come upon one of the still unsettled points. Should the community give outdoor relief or should it confine itself to that which can

Roger Williams Monument

ROGER WILLIAMS PARK

be administered in institutions, leaving to private charity the care of the poor in their own homes? Perhaps the arguments pro and con might be summarized by saying that the opponents of outdoor relief object to it as being susceptible to very grave abuses, as lacking in the flexibility needed when dealing with individuals, as being harmful to the self-respect and independence of its beneficiaries, and as tending to increase the want it is expected to relieve. Its supporters claim that the evils cited are not necessarily inherent, and can be avoided by a lively interest in the matter on the part of the community; that justice demands the assumption of a community burden by the whole community; and that in many places, notably in country districts and the smaller towns, private organizations are entirely inadequate to the need which must be met. Its opponents point to the experience of New York and Philadelphia to show how advantageously it may be abolished; its supporters point to Boston as an example of how wisely it may be retained; and each party successfully finds in the study of each new place fresh food for the support of its own contention.

Such being the case, it is not surprising that Providence might be quoted on either side. In the first place, its system is peculiarly fitted to exemplify the bad side of public outdoor relief. Its dispensing officer, the overseer of the poor, is not only elected, but his term of office lasts for only one year. The administration of relief is left almost entirely in his hands. He is answerable to a committee of five, selected by the mayor from the board of aldermen. This committee may make rules for the regulation of the poor department, but practically beyond laying down a few very general directions, they turn over the

whole matter to the overseer. If the latter has any desire to use his office for political purposes, if he is careless, or uninformed as to what should be the guiding principles of relief-giving, if he is opinionated or prejudiced, the opportunities for him to work harm are almost unlimited.

How has this resulted in actual practice? It is a striking fact that the short term has become merely nominal, and that the office has been kept strictly out of politics. During the last forty-nine years, for example, there have been only two incumbents of the office, the first holding it for thirty-two years, while the second, who was first elected in 1891, is still in office. It so happened that these two men belonged to different political parties, yet each held his position year after year, through all vicissitudes of the organization to which he belonged. Obviously in this city not only has the office been kept out of politics, but the voters have recognized and appreciated the value of fitness for the position, irrespective of political affiliations.

The administration of relief has gone through some striking changes. In the earlier days it was apparently customary for the overseer to accept an applicant's statement as to his needs, to give aid without investigation, and to continue it indefinitely. There was no work test and no possibility of providing one. Children were sent for the relief promised the parents; the overseer's office, in which applications were made, was small and overcrowded; an appeal for help was necessarily a public affair; the applicants, men, women, and children, young and old, of all grades of character, were thrown together sometimes for hours while waiting for their turn to be heard; and the results were, as might have been expected, disastrous. The overseer's annual reports of those days

are filled with the disadvantages under which he was working, and of the harm done by this indiscriminate method of relief which placed a direct premium upon deception and laziness. In 1877 Providence, with a population of 100,675, spent in outdoor relief $26,452.32, giving aid to 5,535 persons, or about one in every eighteen of its inhabitants; and that, too, at a time when there was no special industrial trouble or other economic reason to account for the number of applicants.

The situation had become intolerable, and in 1878, in accordance with the earnest representations of the overseer of the poor, the city opened a woodyard, in which applicants should be required to do a certain amount of work before receiving aid. The yard was not available for use until May, yet the report for that year shows that outdoor relief had fallen to $15,005.26. In the following year it declined to $7,333.33, while in 1882 it had gone down to $3,911.44. That was the low-water mark, and since then it has been gradually rising with the increasing population of the city.

At present the city maintains both a woodyard and a charity building, the latter serving principally as a temporary refuge for homeless women and children. Help is given only after investigation, and, if the applicant is able-bodied, in return for work done. Children are not allowed to come to the department, either to make the application or to receive orders for relief. The aid given is principally in the form of food, fuel, or medical care. Money is rarely or never given, rent is not paid, and clothing given is chiefly in the form of shoes for school children. Coal is given through the winter months. The amount of aid given ranges from fifty cents to two dollars a week, accord-

ing to the size of the family and the stress of their circumstances. Continuous help is given only in cases of families where the natural breadwinner is dead or permanently disabled. There is a serious attempt to prevent first applications in cases where the need can be met by other agencies, and to induce and assist applicants to regain an independent position as speedily as possible.

It will be seen that Providence has escaped many of the dangers alleged to inhere in the system, and this although there is no strong public interest in the management of the poor department, and no definite effort on the part of the citizens to aid the overseer of the poor in improving conditions. The usual tendency to an extravagant administration has certainly been held in check. The table below shows the amounts expended in selected years for outdoor relief since 1877, from which it will be seen that though there has been a steady increase since 1882, this has been very gradual and the present amount is moderate. One way of testing the economy of a poor-relief system is by calculating the amount per capita for the whole population spent in aid. By this test it will be seen that while the absolute amount spent in Providence has been increasing, this increase has not kept pace with the growth of population, and relatively less is being spent each year.

It is more satisfactory to compare the expenditures of different cities, but it is extremely difficult to obtain reports of poor departments of various cities in such shape that comparisons can be made between them. Each city has its own way of reporting its expenditures, and until some common form for classifying public expenses is adopted, there must be a good deal of uncertainty about comparisons. Boston, however, has its figures in exceptionally

available form. Partly for this reason, and partly because the public outdoor relief of Boston is admitted to be most carefully and wisely managed, that city has been selected for comparison with Providence. It will be seen that while the cost of the system is far less in Providence than in Boston, in the latter city the decrease in expense has been absolute as well as relative, and has been greater proportionately than here. A far more significant comparison would be between the number of families aided each year in the two cities, since the important point, after all, it not what a system costs, but the good work it does. This comparison is not possible, however, since the Providence reports give the number of persons, not families, aided. There is evidence, however, that while in Boston, during the last twenty years, the number of families aided has decreased and the amount spent on each has increased, in Providence the number of individuals aided has been growing, while the amount spent on each has diminished—an unsatisfactory showing.

	Boston		Providence	
	Total	Per Capita	Total	Per Capita
1877	$80,341.89	$0.234	$26,452.00	$0.262
1880	56,777.36	0.156	4,736.51	0.045
1881	57,178.35	.....	4,239.01	.....
1882	57,563.26	.....	3,911.44	.....
1885	64,292.96	0.164	6,935.09	0.059
1890	56,414.96	0.125	7,106.31	0.053
1890 (December 30)	36,509.06	.....	.....	.....
1891	.....	.....	6,561.96	.....
1892 (January 31)	59,451.59	.....	6,379.51	.....
1893	55,144.04	.....	8,947.86	.....
1894	63,479.38	.....	15,001.57	.....
1895	75,900.47	0.152	6,596.33	0.045
1900	64,502.45	0.115	7,376.69	0.043
1904	70,041.91		7,505.69	.....
1905	67,668.86	0.109	7,329.26	0.036

A point of much interest about any system of public relief is its effect upon the private charities of the place. In Philadelphia when outdoor city aid was abolished there was an absolute diminution in the demands made upon private societies. Many charitable experts believe that giving public outdoor relief tends to increase the sum total of dependence so that the more the community gives in this way, the greater is likely to be the burden upon private charity. If this be so, any change in the amount of public relief given should be accompanied or followed by a corresponding change in the disbursement of private societies. To see whether this has been the case in Providence, four of the principal relief-giving societies were chosen—the Charitable Fuel Society, the Woman's City Missionary Society, the Irrepressible Society, and, since 1885, the date of the first obtainable annual report, the St. Vincent de Paul Society—these particular ones being selected not only for the amount of work they do, but also because their records are available for twenty years past, or more.

The figures show that there is little apparent connection between the amount thus disbursed. It is true that the diminution of public relief in 1878 is accompanied by a fall in the amount of help given by these private societies, but for the next four years, while the amount of public relief was steadily decreasing, the disbursements of the private societies were growing larger. Thereafter the two agencies continue on their way independently, both affected by periods of hard times, or by industrial disturbances in Providence, but neither seeming to influence the other to any perceptible degree.

On the whole, although the system of outdoor relief

in Providence fails to lend itself strikingly to either side of the argument for or against, the city has reason for looking upon it with satisfaction. If it has not escaped all the defects to which the system is liable, it is well administered, its general results seem good, and it is a significant fact that there has never been any general discussion of its abolition. On the contrary, the majority of the charitable workers of the city, including those of the longest training and the widest experience, look upon it as an essential part of the philanthropies of Providence, and would oppose any attempt to limit relief to indoor aid.

Some portion of this feeling may be due to the nature of indoor relief in Providence. The city has no hospital under municipal control, the sick poor being taken care of either in the hospitals maintained by private resources or in the almshouse. This latter is the only institution for public indoor relief, and, paradoxically enough, it is not maintained by the city, and, owing to the limitations placed on admission, can hardly be public. This institution, commonly known as the Dexter Asylum, has a history of over three-quarters of a century.

In 1824, Ebenezer Knight Dexter, dying, left certain large bequests to the town, as it then was, of Providence. Among others was a farm of some forty acres. On this he stipulated that the town should erect convenient buildings, suitable for the care of the poor, and the whole farm should be surrounded by a stone wall, at least three feet thick at the bottom, and not less than eight feet high. The income from various other specified bequests was to be devoted to maintaining the poor of Providence in this asylum, and to be used for no other purpose whatever.

The last clause has been held to debar from the benefits

of Dexter Asylum all who have not a legal settlement in Providence. Such a settlement is a difficult thing to gain. It is not conferred by residence, no matter for how long a period. The principal method of securing it is by owning and paying taxes on land worth not less than two hundred dollars for not less than five years. A woman takes her husband's settlement, and a child follows its father's. The great majority of the poor in Providence do not possess a legal settlement, and if they fall into need the State Almshouse at Howard is their only refuge. According to the statement of the city physicians for 1905, of 310 patients under treatment, ninety were sent to the State Almshouse and thirteen to Dexter Asylum.

The conditions at Dexter Asylum do not permit any careful separation of classes. For the sake of convenience the city boards its acutely insane in the state hospital, and dependent children of fair physical and mental ability are not usually placed in the almshouse, so that these two classes are not found in Dexter Asylum. With these two exceptions it is the refuge of all the helpless who have a legal settlement in Providence. The feeble-minded, the mildly insane, the aged and respectable poor, consumptives, men and women worn out by intemperance or vice, cripples, invalids and victims of temporary misfortune—each and all find their way thither. And since there is but one large building, not even containing separate rooms, but only large dormitories or wards, only the most elementary classification is possible. And this state of affairs, objectionable enough in itself, is rendered doubly exasperating by the fact that the institution grounds are large enough for the erection of all the buildings which might be needed, and the funds dedicated to its support would meet

the expense of putting them up, but the wording of the will stands in the way.

To get reliable statistics concerning public outdoor relief is difficult, but to get such statistics concerning private relief is impossible. Many of the relief-giving organizations make no reports, those which do present their figures in such different forms that comparison becomes impossible, and an amount of aid, probably far larger than is ever realized, is given in the way of neighborly help, of which even the giver keeps no record. There are, however, certain relief-giving organizations usually found in each community, of which Providence has its share. Best known among these are the churches, the associations formed by different nationalities to relieve suffering among their own people, and societies formed to cover all or a large part of the city, giving general relief or supplying some special need.

The St. Vincent de Paul Society is prominent among church relief-giving societies, and its form of organization and carefully defined field of work give it decided advantages over the looser forms of association common among Protestant churches. In Providence this society claims an existence of fifty odd years, but for the first half of that time its growth was very slow, and there is little record of its work in relief-giving. During the last twenty-five years there has been a rapid increase both in the growth of the society and in the amount of help given. It is curious to find in its work the same tendency which is found, far less clearly marked, in the work of the overseer of the poor, to increase the number of its beneficiaries while decreasing the amount spent on each. Thus while in 1885, $2,756.90 was spent in caring for 167 families, numbering 550 per-

sons, in 1905, $3,521.32 was spent on 440 families, numbering 1,088 persons. In other words, in 1885 the society spent $5.01 for each person aided, and in 1905, but $3.24. It is probable that this tendency exists in most of the charitable work of Providence; in some societies it is clearly indicated; but the full reports published by the St. Vincent de Paul Society make it easier to get the facts than is the case with some other organizations.

There is, of course, no such unified report of the work done by the Protestant churches. In most of these there are certain officers charged with the duty of superintending the relief work, and there are apt to be various associations among the members which undertake specified forms of benevolence. Many of the churches maintain "church workers," who devote their time to the care of the poor. A few support institutional features, such as employment bureaus and workrooms. Almost without exception they expect to care for the needs of their own members, and most of them either put an extremely liberal interpretation upon membership, or pass rather lightly over that condition, giving help to many whom they know to be outside their communion.

Next to the churches, perhaps the associations of different nationalities working among their own people give the largest amount of relief. The Jewish charities are generally the best known of these. In Providence the Jewish population is large and heterogeneous, both as to language and shades of religious belief. It is said that in one limited area of the Jewish quarters are to be found twenty-nine distinct sects. Under these circumstances it is no wonder that their charities are unorganized, and that it is not possible to obtain any full account of them.

Unquestionably they do a large amount of work. Applications by Jews for help from outside sources are rare, and few find their way into institutions. As a contrast to this loose organization, the Scandinavian charities are well federated, having a central body through which the several societies work, and assuming full responsibility for people of their own races. Among the Italians and Portuguese, mutual-benefit societies seem in higher favor than relief-giving societies, though of course they do not cover the same ground. Among other races, the help given seems largely the result of private effort rather than of formally constituted societies.

Providence has several large societies formed to cover the whole city, relieving want wherever found. Most of these have some special form of work, such as supplying food or fuel or nourishment for the sick. One of them is over eighty years old, and all have been in existence over twenty years. For the most part they have districted the city and placed in each distict a representative who is responsible for whatever is done there. Of late years there has been complaint that it is increasingly difficult to secure workers for these positions, which are unpaid.

Since 1877 there has been a rapid growth in the United States of the societies generally known as Associated Charities, or Charity Organization Societies. Their aim is to organize the diversified charities of a city, to serve as a connecting link between the different organizations, and so to correlate their activities that no person in need shall fail of sufficient relief, and no duplication of effort be possible. In Providence such a society was organized in 1892. In the sixteen years of its existence it has proved the initial impulse for several important movements, such

as the work of the Improved Tenement Corporation, the Penny Provident Society, etc., but its success in its primary object of unifying the charitable forces of the city has not been noticeable. Within the last year it has succeeded in establishing a co-operative committee, composed of representatives of different societies, which promises well for the future of this most important branch of work. At the time when this organization was formed, the feeling prevailed that societies for organizing charity should not on any account hold relief funds, but should limit themselves to collecting from other societies or from private individuals whatever might be needed in a given case. While a strong minority of charitable experts still hold this view the tendency is against it. The Providence society, has felt the change in attitude, and in 1906 an amendatory act made a permanent relief fund constitutional. It is rather early to speak of the results of the new system, but they appear satisfactory.

In looking over the field of relief-giving in Providence, one finds two defects which are common everywhere: lack of co-operation, and a failure to provide sufficient aid for individual cases requiring large amounts for successful treatment. On the other hand, there is very little tendency in Providence to multiply agencies working along the same lines, and some of the evils frequently found in unorganized work have been avoided. Thus most of the relief-giving societies have adopted the plan of visiting the poor in their own homes instead of having them come to a central office. This avoids the demoralizing effect of bringing together people of all sorts and conditions under circumstances which permit those skilled in imposition and vice to instruct those making their first essay in asking for aid. Sending out children to beg has been so rigorously

attacked by every society that it is practically unknown in the city; and while most of the societies provide help only of a certain kind or in prescribed quantities, the agent in charge of a district has always been allowed considerable latitude, so that in many cases the practice has been better than the principle.

Whenever and wherever intelligent attention has been given to the care of the poor, it has been found wise to separate them into classes, according to the kind and degree of care they need. Since the early seventies this tendency has developed rapidly. The care of such special classes covers all the different fields of charitable activity. It may be merely alleviative, as in the case of the aged and of the incurably invalid. It may be preventive or restorative, as reformatory work is designed to be; or it may be at once alleviative, preventive, and constructive, as in the wise care of dependent children.

In Providence the care of special classes has not advanced far. The care of the aged, invalids, and convalescents presents no special feature of interest. The blind, the deaf, and the mentally defective, if under school age, are cared for by the state, the blind and the feeble-minded being sent to institutions elsewhere, and the deaf being educated in a state school. The state makes an annual appropriation for the training of the adult blind, but for cripples and for feeble-minded there has hitherto been no refuge, after they have passed school age, but the almshouse. Within the past year the state has decided upon establishing a school and custodial home for the feeble-minded, which is to be under the control of the Board of Education. If the custodial features of this home can be given due emphasis, its opening should mark one of the

most important forward steps in the philanthropies of the community.

The care of wandering men and women is not ideal. Thirty years ago, the system prevailed of giving lodgings at the various police stations to anyone who applied. No work test was used, and although it was not expected that the same man should apply too often for shelter, it was an easy matter to pass from one station house to another, and by the time the round had been made the applicant could safely go back to the one from which he started. The situation of Providence, on the main line between two such cities as Boston and New York, makes it a natural way-station for tramps, and in the early seventies the reports of the overseer of the poor and of the private societies interested dwell again and again upon the increasing numbers of wandering men and women who begged along the streets by day, and crowded to the police stations at night. In 1878, when the city woodyard was opened, it was decided that thereafter all who lodged in the police stations should pay for their accommodations by a few hours' work the next day. Other work was provided for women. The result is shown by the following table:

	Number Lodging in the Station Houses	
	Males	Females
1875	7,208	189
1876	10,530	159
1877	12,010	122
1878	4,668	49
1879	1,841	31
1880	634	...

These results certainly justified the use of the work test, but the system still left much to be desired. As the un-

suitability of police stations for lodging-houses became apparent, a change was made. Applicants for shelter were given tickets to cheap lodging-houses, and in the morning at a given hour were collected and marched in a body to the woodyard, under police guard, there to perform their task. The lodgings were often in most unsanitary condition, there was no possibility of separating the boy just beginning a downward course from the confirmed tramp, and the effect of the public march through the streets in the gang was anything but elevating. Therefore the overseer of the poor strongly urged the erection of a municipal lodge with a woodyard adjoining, and in 1900 this was accomplished.

At present any wandering man may receive shelter in winter for two or three nights, with supper and breakfast. His clothes are disinfected, and baths are required. If he is anxious to spend the early hours looking for employment, he may do his portion of the work in the afternoon before receiving the lodging. Not infrequently the officials have found permanent positions for men who seemed in earnest in their search for work. A suspension of the rule concerning length of stay is made in the cases of peculiar hardship, or more especially, of young men and boys when there seems any prospect of restoring them to their homes or establishing them permanently elsewhere. From May to October the lodge is closed, and during this period the city practically does nothing for homeless men. In special cases the applicant may be given a ticket to some lodging-house, but this is unusual.

It will be seen that Providence occupies a middle ground in its care for wandering men. In many of the neighboring towns the system still prevails of lodging such men in

police stations, a system so inherently vicious that one wonders how it ever originated, or how, having been started, it is not driven out by the first year's experience. Providence is far beyond this. The accommodations provided are excellent, the food is good and abundant, the officials are disposed to help all who show any desire to leave the road, and the tendency of the place is to start the wanderer out in better condition for facing the world than he entered. On the other hand, there is nothing approaching the careful effort made in Boston and Chicago to follow up the histories of the city lodgers, to find their friends and relatives, to separate those who are helpable from the confirmed hoboes, to restore to the ranks of steady industry those who can be bent in that direction, or to sort out and detain the criminal and impostor.

Other things being equal, the larger a city the stronger is its attraction for the wandering fraternity. In Providence, the number of tramps is larger than its size would seem to warrant. The attitude of the city, apart from its poor authorities, toward the homeless man is again on middle ground. There is nothing in Providence akin to the "soup kitchens" known in some other places, or the "bread wagons" of New York, which help to draw to a city those who will not provide for themselves. Neither is there any provision for free lodgings. Several missions maintain lodging-houses, but a charge is made for their beds, and ordinarily they will not give shelter free. The cheap lodging-houses are under the supervision of the Board of Health, and are kept up to a fair standard of cleanliness. It is an easy matter for a man to beg enough to pay for a night's lodging there or at some mission, but at least they are not such a nest of disease and vice as are

found in some of the larger cities. On the other hand, while there are laws against street begging, they are poorly enforced. There is no mendicancy squad, nor any substitute for it, and a man who uses a little caution in not begging in the presence of an officer, and who is not violent or abusive when refused, may practically beg as much as he likes. If he wishes to beg under the guise of selling pencils or shoestrings, he must secure a license, but if he prefers to play a hand-organ, a flute, or an accordion, meanwhile displaying a begging sign, no permit is required, and he may establish himself on the street unmolested.

Homeless women and children have, since 1878, been cared for in a portion of the building in which the poor department is housed. Their numbers are very small and each receives individual attention. As a rule, no woman is permitted to leave the Charity Building until some definite arrangement has been made for her future.

On the whole it may be said that Providence does not offer any special inducements to tramps, nor does it present any strong deterrents. It is a convenient way-station for them in their migrations north and south, so they come; but their treatment after they arrive is of rather a non-committal nature. Their proper treatment is a subject which demands, and will probably soon receive, far more consideration than has yet been accorded it.

In early days dependent children were generally cared for in almshouses. They associated freely with the human flotsam and jetsam cast up there, they received no special education or training to fit them for the life outside, and the results were lamentable. Their exclusion from almshouses has regularly been one of the first results of an

aroused interest in public charitable institutions and in philanthropic methods. Oddly enough, there does not seem to be any legislation upon this point in Rhode Island. It is not customary to retain children in almshouses after they reach the age of four, but how or when this custom arose, it is hard to say. An exception to the rule, by no means to the state's credit, is made in the case of dependent children who are too defective mentally to keep up with the others in the institutions for children, or who are crippled, blind, or otherwise incapacitated. For these there is no place but the almshouse.

The discussion of the proper care of children has hinged upon two main questions: which is better for a dependent child, to train him in an institution, or to place him in a private home; and what should be the relation between the public authorities and the private organizations engaged in work for children?

For a long while the institution was looked upon as almost the only proper place for a child when his own home was lacking. It was the day of orphanages, large institutions in which from fifty to a thousand or more children were fed, lodged, clothed, trained, and educated by wholesale. These, when well managed, had certain evident advantages. The large numbers made possible many economies. The absolute control of the children made it easy to insure them healthful, regular lives, freedom from bad associations and immunity from neglect or abuse. But by degrees it was found that the very excellence and regularity of the life unfitted the child for the world outside into which he must make his entrance some day. A child accustomed to live absolutely under rule, to come and go, to do this and that at the sound of a

bell, was utterly at a loss when it became necessary to act on his own initiative.

Seeing these things, some students of the situation became convinced that life in a normal home was the only right thing for any or all children. "The poorest home is better than the best institution," they said. Two weaknesses, however, soon became painfully apparent in this system. The first was the difficulty of making sure that the child, thus placed unprotected among strangers, did really receive a normal training, and that he was not instead cruelly exploited. A "placed-out" child might become a member of a kindly, well-ordered home in which he would receive the best of care and training, or he might be treated as a little drudge, overworked, scantily fed, and deprived of all educational advantages. To make the system a success, it was evident that the greatest care must be taken, not only to place the child in a good and suitable home, but to watch over him when once he was there, and to make sure that neither the self-interest nor the ignorance of his guardians should lead to his neglect or abuse.

The possibility that the child might be wronged could be met by a careful supervision, but another difficulty appeared, not so easily remedied. Invariably it would be found that some children were unfitted for placing in a home. The unfitness might be remediable, as in the case of children so untrained and with such habits that decent families would hardly be willing to take them. In such case, a very short stay in the receiving depot might be sufficient to remove the difficulty, and the children could be cared for in the usual manner. But there was always a residuum for whom this was not practicable. A child might be below par mentally; he might be so physically

afflicted as to need a degree of care and treatment which could not be given in an ordinary home. For such unfortunates it was evident that the placing-out system was not available. So that, while the former advocates of institutional training have been coming to see the advantages of the placing-out system, its adherents, on their part, have become convinced that there is a field for the institution which the private home cannot fill.

At present it may be said that practically all students of the care of dependent children are agreed that the placing-out system, provided a careful choice of homes is made and careful supervision exercised after the child is placed, is far and away the best plan for the normal child. They are also agreed that it is desirable to have a receiving depot, in which those in need of it may have the training which will fit them to enter private homes, and in which those who for either physical or mental defects are unsuited for ordinary family life may be discovered. For these some form of institutional care is usually necessary, sometimes temporarily, sometimes for life.

It is curious to find that the earliest private care of dependent children in Providence was based on the principles now generally accepted. The Children's Friend Society, which began its work in 1835, declared that its purpose was to receive "indigent children of both sexes, not otherwise provided for, and who, for want of parental care, are in a suffering and dangerous condition." These children the Society proposed to train and to place out "as soon as sufficiently qualified." Unfortunately this "placing out" meant simply giving the children to those who were willing to take them, sometimes for adoption, more often for the sake of their services. The

idea of placing them in families, and paying their board there, had not yet dawned on the horizon of the philanthropists. Nevertheless, since they seem to have used commendable care in placing the children, and since they made this a prominent feature of their work, planning to retain the children in the home as short a time as possible, it was a fortunate beginning for the child-saving work in Providence. At that time there was no other organization in the state for the care and education of dependent children, and the action of this society had much weight in determining the direction of future efforts for the benefit of children.

During the seventy-odd years that this society has been in existence, the provision for dependent children has increased largely in scope, but has been mainly along the lines first indicated. There are now in Providence or its suburbs two infant asylums and two orphanages, supported by the Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches; the State Home and School for Dependent Children; the home of the Children's Friend Society; and a temporary home maintained by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. With the exception of the last named, these are all managed on the same general principle. The children received are trained and educated, and placed out when suitable homes are found for them. In none of the institutions do they expect to receive or retain children over thirteen. The determination of the pioneer society to place out the children "as soon as sufficiently qualified" has faded into a determination to place them out by a given age, if they do not happen to be taken before that time by someone who wants a child. As a matter of fact, the demand for children is considerable, and it is rather the

exception for any normal child to remain in any of the institutions until the full age-limit.

The weakest point in this work in Providence is the care exercised in selecting suitable homes for the children, and in supervising them after they are once taken into families. There is nothing approaching the careful supervision worked out by the Philadelphia Children's Aid Society, for instance, or the systematic visitation carried on in Massachusetts. The State Home and School confides this duty to its secretary, and probably leads in the care given to the welfare of its former inmates. One institution leaves the entire care of this matter to its managers, who are on duty for two months at a time; another intrusts it to an official who is in addition probation officer for the city of Providence, investigates applications for admission to two institutions, and is himself at the head of a third; another seems to rely on correspondence with the family taking a child and with the child itself, rather than on any system of visitation.

In Providence the organized attack upon tuberculosis was begun on a large scale less than two years ago. It is carried on by the close co-operation of four different agencies—the hospitals, the District Nursing Association, the League for the Suppression of Tuberculosis, and the Society for Organizing Charity. It is based on the idea that education tending to check the spread of the disease is worth more than any remedial measures, and that when tuberculosis has once been contracted, prompt and effective treatment is worth whatever it may cost to obtain. As usual, the possibilities of sanitarium treatment are far too few. The state has maintained a sanitarium for curable cases with a capacity of 110; a camp for consumptives,

supported by private subscriptions at Pine Ridge, accommodates 30 to 60; St. Joseph's Hospital has a camp for incurable diseases, with room for 34; and the State Almshouse has a department for dependent consumptives which provides for between 60 and 70. Beyond this, there is no provision for institutional care of consumptives and the limited nature of these accomodations adds emphasis to the need for educational and preventive work.

The Rhode Island Hospital may be said to furnish the first link in the chain of combined effort against the disease. It maintains a clinic three days a week for the examination of tuberculous cases. A city ordinance requires every doctor to report any case of tuberculosis to which he is called, and while it does not require him to send the patient, if unable to pay for treatment, to the clinic, that is likely to be the result. The District Nursing Association and the League for the Suppression of Tuberculosis maintain three nurses who devote their whole attention to tuberculosis cases, and one of whom is always in attendance at the clinic. If the patient is a fit subject for one of the institutions, and if he can be got in, he may be sent there at once. In this case, the Society for Organizing Charity may be called upon for a report as to whether he is able to pay for his board and provide his own outfit. If he is not, the same society or the league will furnish what is necessary.

More often it is found either that the patient cannot be admitted or that he is not in need of institutional care. He may be in the earliest stages of the disease entirely capable of going on with his work if he follows directions as to fresh air and food, or he may be further advanced, yet not so ill that he cannot do well at home under suitable care.

In such cases, the nurse takes charge. She goes to the home, and makes sure that the patient and his family both understand what measures should be taken. She finds out whether the family can afford the food the doctor has ordered, and if not, reports to the League for the Suppression of Tuberculosis. She sees whether any other members show signs of the disease, and if so she does not rest until she has persuaded them also to go to the clinic. She gives informal lectures on the causes of tuberculosis, and the means of preventing it. She preaches the virtues of fresh air and cleanliness, and emphasizes the few simple precautions which prevent the patient from becoming a source of danger to the rest of the family. Meanwhile, the Society for Organizing Charity and the League for the Suppression of Tuberculosis, acting together, furnish, when necessary eggs, milk, and meat, provide care for the younger children, if the patient is a mother, supply clothing, fresh-air outings, help in the household, or whatever else may be needed. The hospital discovers the case and supplies medical care, the nurses see that this is understood and applied, and the two societies furnish the material aid. All work together to accomplish a cure, or if that is impossible, at least to minimize any chance of the spread of the disease.

There are several interesting features of the fight against tuberculosis apart from the organized campaign outlined above. The Rhode Island Hospital maintains a ward at the seaside for children suffering from bone tuberculosis, in which results are secured as marvelous as those made familiar by the work at Sea Breeze. A unique form of work is a "tuberculosis class" conducted by one of the doctors of the city, composed of patients who cannot

secure, or perhaps do not need, sanitarium treatment. A group of young people in one of the churches supplies money to furnish these patients with tents, bedding, and whatever else is needed. The tents are put up in the patient's own yard that outdoor sleeping may be practiced, careful instructions are given, and once a week the patients all assemble for a general meeting. Here the instructions are discussed, difficulties are considered, careful note made of progress or the reverse, and a feeling of friendly and combined effort against the disease is developed. Indeed, there is a certain rivalry as to which patient can show the most marked reduction of temperature or gain in weight. The peculiar advantage of the class is that the patients become keenly interested in treating themselves and carry out all orders with a thoroughness and spirit usually impossible to secure.

There is an increasing interest in work which, although it may be undertaken from ethical motives and may result in much good to others, would not ordinarily be called charitable. Those engaged in it usually prefer not even to term it philanthropic, calling it rather social. Prominent among the forms of such work stands the settlement.

Originally the essential feature of a settlement was a group of people, necessarily possessing some degree of culture and some means who chose to dwell in the poorer quarters of a city with the intention of sharing the neighborhood life, and giving and receiving impartially whatever they and their neighbors counted most worth while.

As a rule, sharing one's experiences or advantages with others involves some definite method of approaching these others. Clubs, classes, kindergartens, reading-circles, and recreation groups were found such convenient means of

approach that they grew apace, and presently in the minds of many overshadowed the underlying idea, always difficult of expression, of the settlement. By degrees, the term was widened to mean any place at which these or similar activities were carried on, whether or not residents were involved. The field of the activities attempted widened too, until now we have church settlements, nursing settlements, musical, social, and educational settlements. In fact, there are very few forms of social or friendly activity which are not called settlement work and carried on in connection with some such center.

Providence has three settlements, one closely connected with a church, two independent. The oldest of the three, Sprague House Association, began its existence as a class of girls in whom their Sunday-school teacher became especially interested. Lines of work outside of the Sunday school were undertaken, and almost insensibly the class grew into a working-girls' club, which needed and presently attained a house of its own.

Perhaps the fact of having its own house has led the Association to realize the importance of a resident worker; certainly the resident and the house combined have given the various clubs a feeling of greater stability, and have helped to form a permanent relation between the association and those among whom it works.

In addition to this, however, the association has undertaken wider usefulness. Before the public authorities became convinced of the value of the summer school and playground, the association maintained one which was for several years the only refuge from the streets open to the children of a large and closely settled region. Of late years, the city has assumed this work, but the association

still maintains a summer kindergarten for the little ones. A minor public service, but one much appreciated in the neighborhood, is its provision of a good hall rented at reasonable rates whenever not in use by the association itself.

Of the other two settlements, one has been formed so recently that it has as yet hardly indicated its distinctive line of activity, but the other, Union Settlement, shows a tendency to lay emphasis on the work for men and boys. The Mens' Club is especially successful. Its formation was due to a recognition of the fact that there is very little opportunity for the working-man to find amusement in the evening outside of the saloon or cheap theater. Many churches, it is true, provide clubs, and the public library is always open. But rightly or wrongly, the average working-man who has no connection with a given church, does not care to use its reading-rooms or join its clubs. He feels that he has no right there and he also suspects patronage; often the suspicion is most unjust, but none the less it is strongly operative. As for public libraries, after a long day's work the man wants something a little more cheerful with more social possibilities, a place where he may smoke and chat and read his paper or have a game of some sort, not a place where he must devote himself strictly to reading and to doing nothing which may annoy others more studious than he. His union, if he belongs to one, is apt to meet only once or twice a week, and generally does not have a hall warmed and lighted on the remaining evenings. His tenement is likely to be small and crowded. The saloon furnishes what he needs under terms which satisfy his self-respect, and it is generally admitted that this fact draws many who are not attracted by its opportunities for drinking.

To meet this need, Union Settlement first provided a good-sized room with tables, papers, games, etc., and interested a few men personally known to the managers. No particular rules were adopted, and little advertising was done. It simply became known that there was a place where a man might find comfort and companionship without annoying restrictions. They began to come in freely and the quarters had to be enlarged. A pool table was added to the furnishings, checkers and chess and other games were secured. A separate reading-room was found necessary; and the management felt that the experiment was fairly launched.

Early in 1906 the club was formally turned over to the management of the men themselves, who have since had entire control of it. Various committees were formed, and several lines of activity decided upon. An entertainment committee provides for social evenings, sometimes for members only, sometimes open to friends. Talks are given by speakers the members have secured. Pool, whist, and checker tournaments have been held, and a debating society formed which devotes itself to social, political, and economic questions in which the whole membership is keenly interested. The rooms are open every evening and the attendance is large.

Union Settlement maintains a reading-room and library for general public use, and carries on a number of the activities commonly associated with settlements, such as classes, clubs of girls and young women, flower-mission work, etc. In its new location, however, these lines of work have not seemed as urgently needed as the Men's Club; their value is unquestionable, but they are also carried on by other agencies, while the Men's Club is the unique contribu-

tion of Union Settlement to the forward movement of the city.

Although the Boys' Club did not originate in the settlement movement, that movement helped largely to bring about a realization of its importance. No one could live long in a settlement without finding out the part the gang plays in the life of the average street boy. The club is merely the gang rightly directed. If no other opening presents itself, as one of the street gang he will become an annoyance or even a source of positive danger to the whole neighborhood; but, given the chance, he will find just as much pleasure and interest in gymnasium work, in legitimate activities which develop his body and train him toward good citizenship. The boys' club has won recognition as the best way yet discovered of turning his activities to good account and counteracting the charm of the street.

The first and most apparent service of the Providence Boys' Club is that it offers every boy a place to spend the evening with warmth, light, companionship, and abundant opportunities for amusement or active occupation. The choice is not between the home and the club, but between the street and the club, and there is no question which is better for the boy and the community.

Although the club is pre-eminently for boys, it was found desirable to add a girls' department for the sake of reaching the street girls, a much-neglected class. The entertainments are usually open to boys and girls alike, but the classes are separate. Naturally there is a difference in the kind of work done. For the girls there is instruction in cooking, sewing, and the like, and, while the number attending is smaller than of boys, they are enthusiastic in their appreciation of the club.

But the club's activities are not limited to the work done within its walls. The director considers it an important part of his duty to know the boys personally, to take an active interest in their welfare, and to be ready with counsel or friendly aid at all times. If a boy gets into trouble with the public authorities, as a street boy very easily may without any very serious wrongdoing, the director is at hand to present any mitigating circumstances, to speak as to his general character, to assume, if necessary, responsibility for his future behavior if he is placed on probation. If hard times come to the home, the director is ready to advise and help. If the boy wants work, or if he ought to want it but does not, again the director is ready to take unlimited pains to place him satisfactorily, to find an occupation which will appeal to that particular boy and will offer chances for advancement. It is a question which is the more important, the work done without the club or within. Neither could be spared.

It is a commonplace that the welfare of the race depends upon the family, but it is only within a comparatively short time past that we have begun to realize that the family is conditioned to a large degree by the dwelling-place. Naturally, when the idea of prevention as a substitute for cure began to gain ground, the tenement-house problem was one of the first to be attacked, and associations for the improvement of housing conditions were formed in most of the large cities. It was found that, as a rule, work must be carried on along two directions: there must be an effort to procure laws forbidding the worst evils; and houses must be provided offering at reasonable rates all the conveniences and advantages which could possibly be furnished at those rates, allowing for a moder-

ate return upon the money invested. For from the first it was felt that such houses could and should be profitable investments, conducted upon a business basis. It was not to be a charitable movement, charity had its own fields; this should be an attempt at fair play for those able and willing to support themselves, who wished only for fair accommodations in return for a fair rent.

In Providence, the first line of work, the effort to secure legislative restrictions, has been largely neglected, owing to the character of the city. It was originally built in scattering fashion, and when eight years ago the Improved Tenement Corporation was formed, investigations showed that the most serious evils of the larger cities were lacking. There were few large blocks of houses. For the most part tenements were not over two or three stories in height, were detached from other buildings, and had a reasonable amount of light and air. The dark bedroom was practically unknown, and although in individual tenements there was serious overcrowding, there was nothing remotely resembling the congested districts of some of the neighboring cities.

Rents for the ordinary three- or four-room tenement at that time ranged from six to ten dollars a month, according to location. The advantages secured for these rates differed greatly, and for the most part those least able to pay got very little indeed. Tenements were often sadly out of repair, conveniences were few or lacking altogether, halls and stairways were dark and dirty, yards were neglected and unsanitary—in short, while the worst abuses of the larger cities did not exist, the situation was far from good. Unnecessarily bad it seemed to the corporation, who believed that for the price tenants were paying they ought

to have at least houses in good repair, a few modern conveniences, well-kept yards, and generally the possibility of living respectably and healthfully.

To test the practicability of this view, the corporation first bought two old frame houses and had them put into perfect order. Running water, set tubs, fire-escape balconies, etc., were provided for each tenement, paint and paper freely used, provision made for care of yards and hallways, and the tenements of three rooms each offered at six dollars a month. The demand for them was immediate and steady. Since the houses were opened a tenement has never stood vacant longer than the time needed for repairs, and usually there has been a long waiting list of would-be tenants. Encouraged by this, the corporation proceeded to build, putting up brick buildings, and charging a rather higher rent, a necessary difference in view of the cost of construction.

Financially the Improved Tenement Corporation has found its venture successful. The lower rents prevailing in Providence have tended to keep down profits, and a further factor in that direction is the fact that the huge tenement block accommodating scores of families is unknown. Naturally a corporation formed for the purpose of improving housing conditions does not wish to introduce such buildings, but the cost of detached houses is proportionately greater. Hence the corporation feels that it has done well in paying 4 per cent. dividends, keeping up repairs and laying aside a sinking fund.

As to the value of the work done, no one who has watched the experiment has the slightest doubt. The corporation has been fortunate in securing collectors of the right kind, who have taken a warm personal interest in the

tenants, and have carried out most successfully the idea of friendly co-operation. Almost from the beginning, one collector has been a doctor, a fact which has helped greatly in keeping the houses in perfect sanitary condition, in securing the confidence of the tenants, and in increasing the possibilities of friendly helpfulness. As yet, it has not been possible for the corporation to undertake the charge of property for private owners, a step its members are anxious to take as soon as circumstances permit, and which, when once accomplished, will largely increase their opportunities for usefulness without demanding a corresponding increase of capital.

Although there has been little effort thus far in Providence to secure legislative prohibition of unfit buildings, there are indications that the time has come for undertaking this line of work. The city is growing rapidly, and in its older sections there is observable a tendency to "double up" on ground capacity. The old-fashioned dwelling, accommodating perhaps two or three families, is being moved to the rear of the lot, and a new house, three, four or five stories high, put up in front. There is no restriction as to the portion of the lot which may be covered, and as a natural consequence the part not built upon is painfully small, restricting the light and air of both houses to an unhealthful extent. The movement has not yet gone far, but it is alarming in view of the effects of such building in New York and elsewhere. Providence will escape many evils if it regulates promptly the whole subject of crowding and provision of light and air. At present the problem is small enough to be easily handled; ten years hence it will be a very different question.

There are numerous other forms of social activity,

each of which in value and interest is well worth extended consideration. Fresh-air work, to the importance of which Providence is just waking up, the provision of playgrounds and public baths, the penny provident work, the efforts of the home-library committees, the institutional work carried on by many of the churches, the choral associations and musical classes and public concerts, the work of the Consumers' League—these and many other forms of activity must be passed over for want of space.

In looking over the field of Providence philanthropies, there seems a disproportionate emphasis placed upon the merely alleviative side. Not an over emphasis, for relief is still given in smaller amounts and frequently for shorter periods than should be the case; but that side of philanthropy still receives more attention and cordial support than either curative or preventive work. There is a growing tendency, however, to lay more stress on the constructive side. Most of the organizations recently formed have been for some purpose of this kind. There are also visible signs of greater co-operation and of a more careful study of the work actually done—a tendency of hopeful promise for the future.

XI

RELIGION

BY

LESTER BRADNER, PH.D.

RELIGION

In considering religious interests, the condition of the various church bodies naturally occupies the foreground of our attention. Certainly there are religious interests outside of the churches, and many underlying conditions that favor or oppose the welfare of religion. These will not be overlooked, but let us first concern ourselves with the organized forces of religion.

In point of history the Baptist denomination may claim the territory. Whatever the first settlers of the city considered themselves ecclesiastically when they landed on the banks of the Seekonk, excluded from the Congregational community of Massachusetts, most of them soon became Baptists. That was the denomination of the first religious organization, effected about 1639 by Roger Williams and his friends. The Baptists therefore antedated their present chief Protestant competitors, the Congregationalists and Episcopalians, by about eighty years. They have hitherto always maintained this predominance among the Protestant portion of the community.

In historical order the Friends, or Quakers, were the next to establish an organized existence in Providence. Their meetings began in the neighborhood of 1660. But this denomination has always remained numerically weak, much more so than its markedly beneficent influence upon the community through the high character of individual members would betoken.

As might be suspected from the issues which caused the departure of Roger Williams from Massachusetts,

the early settlers of Providence offered no cordial welcome to Congregationalists, and this dominant New England type of religious affiliation was not established in the city until 1720. Even then it was many years before its numbers grew to any extent.

About the same time, from 1715 to 1720, occasional services were held in Providence by the missionaries of the Church of England resident in the southern part of the state, and in 1722 the first Episcopal parish in the city, St. John's, then known as King's Church, was organized. It remained the only Episcopal church in the city for over a century.

For the first century of its history, therefore, the religious interests of Providence were almost exclusively confined to four denominations, three of them, so far as polity and feeling are concerned, of the Congregational type. It is not unlikely in a community strongly controlled by tradition that this fact accounts to a considerable extent for a certain lack of sympathy with corporate religious endeavor on a large scale which is characteristic of Providence. It is not a city in which the corporate side of church life appeals to men. If the modern political temper of Rhode Island still bears traces of the ancient love for "separatism," it is not improbable that there is a similar inheritance in religious matters.

The eighteenth century was one of very slow progress religiously. Churches did not multiply in the community and no new denominations entered the field until the opening of the nineteenth century. In the succeeding years of the history of Providence, however, modifying interests began to enter and have continued to grow with accelerated speed. It is the period of the expansion of the

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

Founded by Roger Williams in 1638. Meeting House erected in 1775

more corporate religious interests, especially of the churches under the oversight of bishops.

The Methodist denomination, despite its earlier spread in other regions, did not erect a church in Providence until 1816, though Christians of that name had gathered here in worship for some eighteen years previously.

Several other religious bodies were organized within the next few years: the Universalists in 1821, the Unitarians in 1828, and the Christians in 1834. But none of these have exerted any very marked influence over the community. A new era, however, began in the organization of the first Roman Catholic parish, that of St. Peter and St. Paul, now the Cathedral, in 1836. For some nine years previously Roman Catholic services had been held in the city, but now a rapid increase in the number of their communicants required a permanent organization. No other church has risen with such rapid strides, owing largely, of course, to immigration. Later denominational entries were the Swedenborgians in 1839, the Adventists in 1850, and the Presbyterians in 1872.

The religious situation in the city has been largely altered by the rapid influx, during the last fifty years, of a foreign-born population. Even the older residents of Providence scarcely appreciate that in 1900 there were 55,855 persons (31.8 per cent. of the population) of foreign birth, and 116,858 (66.5 per cent.) of foreign-born parentage. In the last twenty years foreign-born males, eligible as voters, have more than doubled.

In 1905 the foreign-born were over 65,000, an average increase of 2,000 per year. The last few years have undoubtedly added very considerably to the percentage of Italians and Russian Jews. A large proportion of the

TABLE SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND CHURCHES BY WARDS

(Grouped according to size of population)

Ward	Location	Population		Largest Race Element	Churches				
					Protestant			Roman Catholic	
		Total	Foreign		No	Adherents	Members	No.	Baptized
IX.....	Nearly central	24,120	10,443	Italian	8	7,210	2,695	4	16,787
III.....	Outlying (N. W.)	23,454	10,169	Italian / Jewish	9	6,428	1,412	3	13,115
X.....	Outlying	20,821	8,124	Irish / English	6	5,559	553	5	15,139
VIII.....	Outlying	20,708	7,270	English / Irish / Italian	5	8,828	1,579	1	11,849
I.....	Near center (S. E.)	20,022	6,271	Irish / Portuguese	5	9,059	2,216	2	10,671
V.....	Nearly central	19,402	6,079	Irish	4	9,233	781	0	8,297
VI.....	Outlying	18,729	4,017	English / Irish	9	13,761	2,117	1	4,788
II.....	Outlying (N. E.)	17,180	4,397	Irish / English	12	7,884	2,655	2	8,288
VII.....	Partly outlying (reaching V, VI, VII, VIII, IX)	17,125	3,672	Irish / English	10	11,140	2,399	1	5,808
IV	Central (reaching I, V, VII, IX)	17,074	5,304	Irish	21	9,213	7,860	1	7,526
	Totals.....	198,635	65,646		89		24,267	20	102,358

Note,—In this table the Central Congregational Church has been counted in with Ward I where it really belongs, and St. John's P. E. Church with Ward II for a similar reason. The figures indicating Protestant church membership, are only approximate, but are based on a careful count. Other figures are taken from *State Census of Religious Preferences*, 1907.

English foreign born affiliate naturally with the Episcopal church (accounting somewhat for its steady progress in numbers) or with other Protestant churches. The Swedes also are a Protestant people. We can further count out the Russian Jews. But all the rest, Irish, Italians, French Canadians, and perhaps some English—a total of about 57 per cent. of the foreign-born population—are adherents of the Roman Catholic church. This, added to the natural prolific increase of Catholic families, has given the Roman church a rapid and remarkable growth in Providence. It probably receives the adherence of fully half the population of the city, and in some localities as much as 60 per cent. and over.

We find then that the religious division of the present population of approximately 200,000 is somewhat as follows:

Roman Catholics	102,358	20	churches
Protestants (distributed as follows)	88,303	89	"
Baptists (of various names)	18,776	27	"
Episcopalians	18,828	14	"
Congregationalists	8,292	13	"
Methodists	9,303	19	"
Presbyterians	2,461	4	"
Scattering (11 or 12 other denominations)	7,636	12	"
Undesignated (but chiefly Protestant)	21,611	—	
Hebrews	7,974	9	"
Armenians, Greeks, etc	1,396	—	

The distribution of churches in relation to the population is an interesting point. The city is at present divided (see table) into ten wards with populations in each running from seventeen to twenty-four thousand. The three wards with the *smallest* population contain the *largest* number of Protestant churches. Put in another way, territory

containing 26 per cent. of the population holds almost 50 per cent. of the Protestant churches, and these churches embrace 50 per cent. of the total Protestant church membership in the city. This means two things: first that the old church foundations, originally placed near the center of the city have not found it necessary or desirable to move, as in many cities; second, that these central churches still draw largely for their membership on the outlying districts. Providence families, as a rule, are remarkably tenacious of their relationship to a particular parish. But still another fact is disclosed, i. e., the Protestant denominations are not placing churches with reference to the present or future growth of the community. The third ward, for instance, covering a very large extent of territory, where there is much new growth, has but nine Protestant churches, none large, mostly quite small. Yet there are as many or more native-born people there as in the fourth ward, where there are twenty-one Protestant churches, counting over five times as many members. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic church has three churches in the outlying ward, to one in the central. Doubtless, the excuse would be offered that it is not possible financially to maintain Protestant churches in larger numbers in the outlying wards. But there is the problem. People cannot ordinarily go long distances to church and keep up a vigorous and helpful church life. If the Protestant forces are to retain a reasonable command of the population in distant sections of the city, some way must be found of strengthening the outlying work from the center. What has been said of the third ward is yet more sadly true of the tenth ward, which is still more isolated. Here the Roman Catholic church has shown its wisdom by

placing five parishes which claim a very large adherence. The eighth ward, in which Olneyville is situated, deserves far more than five Protestant churches. A study of the table will reveal the misfortunes of a divided Protestantism as compared with Roman Catholicism in the effort to command a city. It will be still more forcibly shown when we learn that the twenty Roman parishes are served by about fifty-four clergy, an average of nearly three to a parish, whereas very few of the eighty-nine Protestant churches can boast more than a single minister. The aggregate number of Protestant clergy is probably nearly double that of the Roman Catholic, but they are not so economically distributed or used.

What makes a strong parish strong is an interesting question, especially on the Protestant basis. Each of the four leading denominations has a few really strong churches. As we look at them individually, it seems to be most often a question of age and position. It is generally age which in the end commands money, provided the location is good. Occasionally the location alone will bring financial power. Now and then it is something in the personality of a vigorous pastor, or some peculiarity of churchmanship which builds up a parish, without the advantage of age. But this is only occasional. Providence is not a place in which men rally rapidly about a leader.

So far as the seating capacity of the Protestant churches is concerned, it is much greater proportionally than that of the Roman Catholic. Calculations show that an average distribution of the Protestant half of the community would attach about 1,000 persons to each church. If a third of these were counted as sick or infirm, it would

leave about 700 people to be accommodated at the two services usually held. This could easily be done. On the other hand, by multiplying services the Roman Catholic churches are able to deal with a population averaging 4,500 to a church. The Roman Catholics probably need more church buildings. The Protestants have quite enough, if only the distribution could be improved.

The characteristics of the various Protestant denominations do not vary in any especial way from those exhibited in most cities. Probably all of them are more conservative in scope and activity than in cities outside of New England. Sunday services, two or more in the day, and the mid-week prayer meeting (except in the Episcopal church) on Thursday evenings are steadily maintained; yet there is hardly the growth one might expect in so large a city; at the same time no denomination is really stagnant. The Baptists are hardly maintaining the superiority in membership which they held in the past, and which the number of their churches might indicate. Not many years ago the Congregational churches made large gains. At present the Episcopalians appear to be making the most rapid increase. Both Congregationalists and Episcopalians have made considerable effort to render social services in demonstration of their Christian feeling, especially in the larger parishes. At least one Baptist church, Calvary, and one Methodist church, the Mathewson Street, have entered heartily into institutional work. Most of the larger Episcopal parishes have erected parish houses with special equipment for social work. Elsewhere, except in the two parishes just mentioned, chapels and vestries must suffice for what is done. Considered as a whole, the various congregations do not manifest great zeal for social work.

Undoubtedly, in property values and in the progress made during the last few years, the Roman church is far in the lead. The value of their churches, land, parochial residences, eight parish schools, and six convents is reckoned at about $2,500,000 (1907). This does not include their three academies, or such charitable institutions as the Orphan Asylum, the Infant Asylum, St. Joseph's Hospital, the House of the Good Shepherd, two homes for Working Girls, and a newly established day nursery on Pine Street. New Parishes for French, Poles, and Italians have been established within a few years. The work among the Italians is admittedly difficult, on account of their strained relations with the church in Italy. Still there has not been manifested any large desire on the part of the Italians to turn toward Protestant ministrations. The Baptists and Methodists each maintain a mission among them, yet with no large following. The religious problem for the Italians remains yet to be solved. The list of Roman Catholic charitable institutions given above shows that that church is beginning to enter the modern movement for social service. They have recently, for instance, taken over a kind of settlement work given up by Protestants because it was situated in a Catholic district.

A growing factor in the religious life of Providence is the Jews. The Jewish settlement in Newport is one of the oldest in the country, but the development of Hebrew life in Providence is a comparatively recent feature, greatly accelerated in growth by the persecutions a few years past in Russia. The Jewish population in the city may be reckoned today at eight or nine thousand, nearly double what it was five years ago. They are by nature a self-contained and orderly people. Their family

morals are above the average. They make good citizens, even if not agreeable. The older generation, foreign born mostly, keep to themselves. The younger generation, at home in the English language, and enjoying the freedom of American life, are far more in evidence. The question with them will ultimately be here, as in New York and elsewhere, whether they will hold to the faith of their fathers or become indifferent to any religious ties. At present the orthodox Jews far outnumber the "Reform" element. There are at present in Providence four synagogues and four congregations, or "cheoras," without a permanent edifice of their own, in addition to the one Reform House of Worship. But the children of orthodox parents are often allowed to attend the Sunday school of the Reform congregation, showing a drift in the direction of liberalism. The present valuation of the Jewish church property is put at about $85,000. The three largest synagogues, in addition to their regular services, have religious schools for children and advanced classes for adults. The charitable work of the Jews among their own people is always notable, and Providence is no exception to the rule. The chief needs are relieved by a very effective charitable organization. One society in particular, the "Gemillath Chesed," loans out several thousand dollars a year without interest. Very few Jews here are inclined to consider a change of faith. They are naturally suspicious of attempts to proselyte. At the same time they respond very cordially to efforts made to assist them in the poorer quarters, when these efforts are of an industrial sort and known to be separated from religious suasion. At least one Protestant church carries on such work in its parish building. Attempts have been made, and probably

will continue to be made on the part of the Christian churches in Providence to bring the gospel to the Hebrew. It is not likely, however, that they can meet with any great success. A few individuals here and there may be gained, but that is all. There is no city, so far as we know, where evangelistic work among the Jews is yielding much fruit. Perhaps the hope of religious unity between Christians and Jews lies rather in a revival of the ancient Hebrew Christianity, where the acceptance of Christ demanded no break with the laws of Moses, than in any other form of conversion. But whether christianized or not, it is evident that the Hebrews are destined to play a large part in our civic life in the United States. They are a people of the city; they increase rapidly, at each generation, quite apart from European accessions. It will not be long before their influence in Providence will be strongly felt. Every well-wisher to religion should desire the progress of the Reform movement among them, and be in sympathy with every effort to render them better citizens.

Within each Christian denomination there are, naturally, strong contrasts to be observed among the various parishes, and something may be gained from the study of them. Among the Baptists, for instance, the Old First Church and Calvary Church are both characteristic and yet entirely dissimilar. The Old First represents the church of the past. Its stately edifice, the oldest in the city, stands proudly on the hillside in the center of the town. The congregation, widely scattered, counts many of the oldest families. University traditions, orthodox theology, sober, steady ways are the marks of its life. It is almost a "down-town" church. Yet it has no facilities for social work, and its resources are limited. One could not doubt but that it

has a future, yet its present maintenance is no easy problem. The finest heritage of the past does not materially help it in its struggle. On the other hand, Calvary Church, a long distance from the center, in the midst of the newer residence district on the West Side, is living in great prosperity. Its building expands, its congregations overflow; its social agencies and activities are very many. Its spirit is almost altogether modern. Its orthodoxy is neither strait-laced, nor yet tainted with heresy. Aside from the influence of the respective personal leaderships, the difference in the two parishes seems mainly that of location, and secondarily that of modern social activity.

Another interesting contrast is formed in the Methodist denomination, between the Mathewson Street Church and Trinity Church. Here the difference in location is also somewhat pronounced, the first being in a business block, with not even a churchly building, while the latter is a family church in a residence district not far from the center. Trinity Church counts over 750 members. Its benevolences are considerable. But outside of the Sunday-school missions, its social organizations are not many. The Mathewson Street Church, however, overcomes the disadvantage of its location by special musical attractions, strong preaching, and an adaptation to social work in a modern building.

Similarly, one may set side by side two very different churches of the Congregational polity, the Central and the Beneficent. The Central Church is of more recent date, situated in the heart of the finest residence district, and has a large, aristocratic, and wealthy membership. It maintains the old-fashioned hours of service, morning and afternoon, and is well attended. There is no occasion

in its neighborhood for social service, and it conducts little work of that type under its own name. It maintains, however, a Portuguese mission, gives large contributions to many city charities, and many of its members are foremost in various benevolent enterprises. Its atmosphere is thoroughly liberal theologically. Altogether, one may speak of it as enjoying every fortunate circumstance, except that of an immediate field for work. Over against this, the Beneficent Church, one of the oldest in the city, stands directly in the business district. It is not so fortunate financially as the Central, and has near-by competition in its own denomination, commanding no adequate residential district. Yet the Beneficent Church is quite alive, apparently, with a vigorous pastorate, an assistant pastor, engaged especially to oversee and develop the Sunday school. Its services are interesting and attractive with surpliced choir and a liturgy following more or less closely the Episcopalian form. It is directly interested in a settlement work, and is conducting with considerable success a work among resident Armenians, who are given a service and Sunday school of their own with a special Armenian pastor. The membership of the Beneficent Church is nearly 700. Here again the possibility of a "down-town" church is demonstrated, and hard work with modern interests make up for local disadvantages.

It is plain, therefore, that a church out of the residence district of a city *can* be maintained in spite of disadvantages. Grace Episcopal Church, the largest in Providence, is an illustration. Yet, we think, it can only be at a greater cost, and with smaller permanent results. If there be a neglected neighborhood to which it may minister, there is every reason for it to remain. If the residents have

departed, it is economy to move with them. It is even a question whether a successful "down-town" church can minister as effectively to the individual and the family in their more personal needs, whether it can help them by bringing them into close and frequent touch with its work and life. Loyalty in clinging to the old church, now at a great distance from one's home, is apt to result in frequent inattendance, inability to take much part in the church activity, and a slender personal relationship, especially for the second generation. It is easy to slip downhill from a real difficulty in reaching a distant church, to an equally real indifference as to attending any church. The "down-town" church may continue to have a floating congregation, attracted by various causes, and yet reach personally and permanently but a very few. These observations do not apply, however, where a residence district closely adjoins the business section. St. John's Episcopal Church, the mother church of Providence, carries on a large variety of institutional work, and is making a vigorous fight in the midst of a rapidly extending Jewish district.

A word may be said as to the work of religious education among the Protestant churches. The Sunday schools are experiencing an advance in the ideals and quality of their work. They have not gained in numbers so much as might have been expected. But statistics are undoubtedly more accurate today than in the past. This, together with a higher grade of work, has tended just at present to reduce the number of pupils. But there can be no doubt of a large increase of interest in the work.

In the matter of charities Providence is fairly well supplied for a city of its size, and the list of institutions

and enterprises is quite complete. Children of tender years are pretty well provided for. But, aside from the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum, the provision for infants which become a charitable charge is not very adequate. It would undoubtedly be well also if there were more means of industrial assistance. Relief societies are numerous, but opportunities to *work* for assistance are too few. The city maintains a woodyard and lodging-house for men. There is a laundry for women, and several societies where sewing can be obtained, but not much more of this nature. There should be other employment bureaus, in addition to those of the Y. M. C. A., under charitable auspices. Day nurseries are not as frequent as one might expect. Yet this, in a way, is a recommendation of the general scale of living among the wage-earners. It is not desirable, though it may often become necessary, for the mother of young children to be a daily earner of wages. Her true place is in the home, and perhaps it is better not to give over-encouragement to those who might be tempted without sufficient reason to give over the care of their children to others. There are several so-called "settlement" houses doing an excellent work, yet hardly in the poorest districts of the city. There is room for more establishments of this sort.

The homes for aged poor are of an excellent order, and hospitals and agencies for the relief of the sick are well maintained. The District Nursing Association especially fills a very important place by means not always obtainable in other cities. The work of the Young Men's Christian Association has been carried on with enterprise and success. It reaches a large number of men and boys in healthful and helpful ways. The Young Women's Christian

Association also, with its fine new home, is doing much good. The probation system at the courts is well attended to, especially in the case of wayward girls and young boys. All these various agencies are brought into helpful co-operation through the Society for Organizing Charity which is just beginning a new area of efficiency. On the whole, one gains the impression that while, as in every city, there is poverty, suffering, and need, yet the conditions in Providence are more favorable than in many large cities.

Recent movements in the city which have a religious significance have been chiefly directed toward improvement in morals and Christian intelligence. As regards civic questions, there is a more cordial welcome in Providence for reform measures than in some smaller communities in the state outside. The moral issue makes a stronger appeal, and greater individual effort is put forth in behalf of righteous causes. The election to the mayoralty is largely influenced by popular appreciation of the sterling character on the part of the candidate. Although the office carries with it but little real power politically, the choice of candidates for it has been an evidence of the moral sentiment of the community. Efforts, hitherto ineffectual, have been made to secure a more efficient control of the public schools. A considerable number of people have been interested in the improvement of laws on child-labor, and in the better co-ordination of the charitable societies and institutions of the city. Vigorous and steady efforts have been put forth in behalf of the enforcement of the saloon laws, the prevention of cruelty to children, the guarding of social purity, etc. All these movements are an index of fundamental moral feelin

and conscience on the part of a certain fraction of the community. The pity is that this fraction is not very large.

Educationally, the growth and the efficiency of the Rhode Island Sunday-School Association, largely controlled and operated in Providence, shows the rise of a real concern for more competent religious education on the part of the churches. A similar tendency is evident in the gradually extending work of the Biblical Institute, whose lectures and classes touch a constituency of some five hundred persons.

Another activity worthy of mention is the spread of a layman's movement in the churches. It is manifested in different forms, usually marked in common by some social features, such as men's clubs in the various parishes, or denominational organizations like the Baptist Social Union, the Churchman's Club, the Congregational Club. Many of these societies undertake beneficent enterprises of investigations of some sort, in addition to the encouragement they offer toward a closer church fellowship. They back up and multiply the work of the individual pastor, and constitute in many ways an active force in opposition to the prevailing indifference.

Of the combined efforts of pastors in behalf of religion, a few words may be said. The modern pastor in Providence, as in other large centers, has his head and hands full of many human interests which in the past were conceived to be quite separate from the church. The "institutional church" is not widespread in the city as yet; a dozen parishes perhaps, distributed among various denominations, deserve the name. There must be a considerable number of smaller parishes where the old-fashioned

clerical routine of study, parochial calls, and Sunday preaching is still the larger part of the work. Yet the demands of a city, in the way of membership in boards of charitable enterprises, in committees on special movements, are felt by nearly all the clergy. One questions at times how much is accomplished, religiously, by this vast amount of machinery; and whether an equal amount of energy bestowed on pulpit work and personal visitation would not accomplish more. Nevertheless many of the institutions accomplish a large work, and the by-product of a combined interest is perhaps superior in importance to the main object. Providence by inheritance is peculiarly liable to parochialism. The "separation" of politics drifts over into religion. Against this centrifugal tendency the manifold outside interests of the clergy are a distinct preservative, and have wrought powerfully, though all unobserved, for the unity of all religious interests. The various ministerial associations of which there may be eight or ten, besides smaller clubs, tend to keep the church together in progressive lines. Eminent speakers are invited to address these meetings; public questions and social problems are discussed. Many movements of considerable importance originate in these gatherings.

Of church unity in the outward sense there are no immediate signs. But a much larger measure of co-operation is promised through the movement inaugurated by the recent organization of the Federation of Churches. In this body the various denominations are represented, if they so desire, and a joint interest is established in movements for the moral betterment of the city. A unity in good works is promoted, the emphasis is taken off the single parish and placed upon the combined work of all

for the welfare of the city as a whole. The accomplishments of the Federation in securing a religious census of the city, and in apportioning its territory part by part to individual churches as "responsibility districts" is a very definite step forward. The careful visitation of these districts reveals what families are without church adherence, and what forms of moral effort are needed for that particular portion of the community.

The Federation Committee on "Comity" or interchurch relationships in cases where disputes arise concerning territory or policy, promises to be a kind of denominational clearing-house which has long been needed. On the basis proposed by the Federation the way is open for a positive step forward by the combined churches in behalf of the general religious condition of the city. Conservative religious interests hang back, however. The Federation has not been welcomed by some of the larger denominations. The Catholic church takes no part whatever in it, beyond a silent toleration. Indeed, thus far, the temperance movement is the only one in which that church seems inclined to co-operate with Protestant efforts.

The great problem before the churches of Providence, as elsewhere, is how to stem the tide of religious indifference on the part of the majority of the population; how to reach and interest the "unchurched masses," who do not much care to be "churched," although the opportunity is there; how to keep the pews full at public worship. At the public services in Protestant churches but a small part of the total Protestant population is present on Sunday. Estimates based on careful enumeration show that the total average attendance on Sundays at Protestant services is about 27,000 (just over 300 to a church on the

average) which amounts to somewhat over a quarter of the whole Protestant community. We may say that one out of every three able-bodied persons is in attendance. What to do with or for the other two-thirds is the serious question. Several methods of reaching them are in evidence. The slow but fundamental method of character-building through the Sunday school is one. The institutional church with its social service and attractions is another, not more successful perhaps in the long run than the first. The practical and business-like method of the Federation is a third, laying its emphasis upon a knowledge of, and responsibility for, the different sections of the city. A fourth method is the old-fashioned medium of evangelism.

Evangelism has been tried in Providence from time to time, but apparently with indifferent success. It is not fruitless, but the fruit seems to become less and less in proportion to the endeavor expended. The Salvation Army no longer attracts attention. A few street preachers get an indifferent hearing. There are about a dozen so-called "missions," at which such persons as can be drawn in from the drifting element in the streets are exhorted. It is not apparent that they succeed in making much impression. Nevertheless the cause of evangelistic services received a decided impetus in a recent visit of the noted evangelist, "Gipsy Smith," who spoke every evening for ten days to audiences averaging three thousand persons. These audiences, however, were very largely made up of church people, and the total number of "conversions," about eight hundred, was hardly significant, a considerable portion being very young. In this case marked personality, genuine eloquence, and a wide reputation, a

somewhat unusual combination, were all at hand, and yet the most needy, spiritually speaking, were not reached. Among the best results was the impetus imparted to individual churches and workers who participated.

In reviewing the general moral conditions of the city, one must be struck by the absence of the congested "slum" life which is the bane of many large cities. There are, of course, hard districts, marked by poverty and drink; there are dirty quarters with old, ruinous buildings; there is a Jewish quarter and an Italian quarter where the American eye and nostril find their trials.

Providence is probably nearer to the traditional New England regard for the sanctity and mutual affection of the home life than some other cities, notwithstanding some untoward influences. A very large portion of the young people of the city are employed in factories and many more in the stores. It is not a healthy life from the moral point of view. Indiscriminate mixing in the one case, and late hours on the streets in the other are dangerous. In both cases the home has little control over the acquaintances formed. The economic independency of the young frequently encourages extravagance. The out-of-town resort on Sundays is a further temptation, if not a snare. Yet so far as actual criminality or disorder is concerned, Providence is not in any way an exceptionally wicked place. It has in some way gained an unjust and unenviable reputation for immorality. But careful inquiry does not reveal a larger amount of wrongdoing than is prevalent in other cities of its size. The police commissioners have striven to deal strictly with "the social evil." Disorderly houses known as such have been closed, but to a considerable extent this only effects a

redistribution of the difficulty. Its existence in private houses and small hotels is exceedingly difficult to uproot. So far as the streets are concerned they are observably decent.

The record of illegitimate births for 1905 amounted to only ninety and the records are probably more thorough than could be expected. Of these cases, fifty-seven mothers were born in the United States, not foreigners as some might suppose; twenty-one were born in Providence itself, and nineteen cases were from among the colored population.

The religious worker in the homes of Providence cannot help being conscious, however, of the baneful effects of divorce. The responsibility of the marriage relation rests altogether too lightly upon the heads of the many. The Rhode Island laws in this particular are notably easy, in spite of some restrictions recently effected in them. The percentage of divorces to marriages is indeed slowly decreasing. Yet it is still very high. The average for the last thirty-six years in Providence indicates one divorce to every ten and a half marriages. In 1905, out of 532 applications, 303 were granted, 100 less than in the previous year, distributed among the following causes: adultery, 175; extreme cruelty, 214; desertion, 202; drunkenness, 110; neglect to provide, 345; gross misdemeanors, 110; void marriages, 6. The children suffer morally in such cases through want of proper discipline, through the disorder and contention of the home life, and very frequently through the breaking-off of their religious training; still more, perhaps, in the lowering of their ideals of the home life. The figures which measure divorce do not, of course, tell the additional story of deserted homes, where there is

simply desertion, no attempt being made at divorce, because of the cost of legal proceedings. There are many cases of this sort among wage-earners on the part of the men, who can easily lose themselves in some other city by a change of name. Efforts have been made among the clergy in Providence to bring about a stricter standard as to the marriage of divorced persons, and more especially to secure an agreement which respects the requirements in different religious bodies. The Roman Catholic and Episcopal clergy of the city are very generally unwilling to solemnize the marriage of divorced persons. The clergy of other denominations are less strict in this particular.

An interesting religious study in Providence is the observance of Sunday. Doubtless the old New England Sunday with its plentitude of church-going and its minimum of relaxation obtained in the city within the memory of the oldest inhabitants. Recent years, however, have witnessed a very decisive change. It is still in large measure a day of rest, except for such occupations as have to do with transportation. The laws on Sunday observance are strict, perhaps over-much so for successful enforcement. The theaters are closed, unless it be for the so-called "sacred concert." No baseball games are allowed even by the boys in vacant lots. Drug stores do a thriving traffic even in other things than medicines, cigars, and soft drinks. Efforts are being made to curb this growing business. Even yet a great parade militates against many consciences. On the whole, therefore, the temper of the city in this respect is conservative. But this conservatism is not powerful enough to maintain church attendance at its old standard. There is good reason to

believe that this has decreased slowly but steadily for some years past, and it is doubtful whether bottom figures have yet been reached. In some cities, New York for instance, the movement seems to be toward a larger rather than a smaller church attendance, as if the ebb had reached its limit, and the tide were beginning to return. But in Providence there are local circumstances calculated to delay any rising tendencies. Doubtless all New England has suffered from a lack of emotionalism in the worship of its dominant churches. There has been too much of the bare intellectual and too little of that which appeals artistically in music, in architecture, in liturgy. This dryness of public worship tends to loosen its hold upon those whose intellectual or religious natures are not highly cultivated. The masses drop back into a comparatively churchless life, content with sending their children to Sunday school. Morning services have still a hold upon those who are somewhat inclined to churchgoing. But the old afternoon service has in most churches been given up some time ago in favor of the evening; it is more difficult than it was five years ago to maintain any religious work for Sunday afternoon, and the evening attendance is very small except where special attractions of a musical sort are offered, or where the preaching inclines to the dramatic or sentimental side. The day is more and more given over to outdoor recreation. The proximity of the salt water, with its attractive excursions and resorts, the facilities for reaching the country on the electric cars, the growing popularity of the park and its band concerts, all tend to increase the recreative element. The golf links and the shore resorts claim their patrons. One must realize, however, that the movement in this direction must have been accel-

erated by the growing number of Roman Catholics, both native and foreign. The Roman church is very generally satisfied if its adherents attend an early mass. It does not require of them special religious observance of the rest of the day. More than this, the foreigner is by habit accustomed to an outdoor Sunday. When half of the population of a city is thus minded, they will soon be joined by a large portion of the other half, no matter how strong the ancient traditions.

On the whole, as we survey the religious conditions of Providence, we should remark to some degree a kind of arrested spiritual development—religion seems hampered by the past. It does not strike out with a consciousness of its power and opportunity facing any new departure; it seems to wait to ask the question: Have we been wont to do this in the past? and the answer being generally in the negative, there is a hesitancy which makes the attempt half-hearted. There is undoubtedly great moral reserve; but there is also a moral inertia. It is hard to raise either enthusiasm or money in any large quantity for religious purposes. Small views both of duties and opportunities seem to get the upper hand. The prevailing impulse is to do simply what is necessary and leave the future to look out for itself. It is the cautiousness of conservatism, and yet it may also result from a failure to realize the vast changes now going on in a community which has in the past been largely homogeneous and thoroughly American.

In the matter of liberal thought there has been no great eagerness. It has come about that the pastorates of most of the larger Protestant churches are held by men of liberal views, definitely in line with modern learning. Most of the smaller congregations are inclined to look somewhat

askance at suggestions of new theology or biblical criticism. The Baptists especially are inclined to be staunch in their orthodoxy. The University (Brown) has been a leavening influence, but one not altogether welcome. Besides, there is too little real contact between the city generally and the university circles to spread new ideas with any great rapidity. Liberal views have come to be expected in certain quarters, and their utterance there excites little more than passing comment.

So far as the relation of the "working-man" to the church is concerned, it is far more one of indifference than of opposition or dislike. It is quite apparent that the adherence of the wage-earner to the labor-union is much closer than his adherence to the church. It interests him more, but there is no pronounced feeling as to any antagonism between the union and the church. Many Protestant churches and almost all the Roman churches count a large number of wage-earners among their regular adherents. We are distinctly of the impression that in Providence, at least, there is no more of an issue between the wage-earner and the church than between the capitalist and the church. It would not be difficult to count as many of the latter who are non-attendants as of the former. It is not so much the failure of the church in her social duty, though she is not perfect in this particular, as the failure of the individual in spiritual appreciation and ambition which we may assign as the reason for the small percentage of men in the church. Class-distinctions do not hold in this instance.

What are the signs of the times in Providence religiously speaking? is the question we may most care to have answered. What is likely to happen on the spiritual side

in this city of separatism, conservatism, and moral decency alongside of a considerable abandonment of church-going? One thing is sure, the forces of a highly organized church feeling, led by Roman Catholicism on the one hand or an awakened Protestantism on the other, are going to face the forces of a churchless irreligion in a very definite way. The Roman church is in a position of advantage, so far as strength and loyalty go. From the ecclesiastical point of view there are more adherents of Catholicism than of Protestantism. But mere members do not always conquer. There is the deeper question of moral force, and also of intelligent Christianity. There must still be a crisis ahead where the modern neglect of spiritual culture and self-control manifested by decreasing Protestant congregations will create a mighty necessity for fundamental Christian morality. The Roman church would need to square itself with modern thought and the spiritual independence of the individual before it could seize this opportunity and lead in the regeneration. The Protestant churches, on the other hand, must develop a more organic and effective unity, and set forth a gospel more directly moral and devotional. The Roman church commands the masses. Can it also lift them? The Protestant churches lift the more cultivated minority, but can they reach and control the masses? There is the question which the future alone can solve. Our hope lies in greater concentration; in a better religious training; in the more vigorous expression of the vital morality and spirituality of the Christianity of Christ himself; and in the deeper realization of the social unity of civic life.

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